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ABSTRACT

This report presents the results of the first year of a 5-year project designed to investigate the impact of child care training programs on the employability of low-income women and assess the impact of such training on these women's parenting skills. The first year of the project was spent reviewing the literature. This report of the project and its literature review is divided into five sections. Section 1 studies the population of low-income women. Topics include theories of adult and adolescent development and learning, and women's career development. Section 2 chronicles the history of federal employment and training policies, vocational education efforts, and welfare programs. Section 3 examines programs designed to train low-income women for general employment and for child care occupations; compares the training of individuals for the child care field and for parenthood; and discusses parent education. Section 4 considers issues germane to the implementation of job training and parenting programs. These issues are: (1) child care worker supply and demand; (2) career ladders in the child care field; and (3) the funding of training programs. Section 5 summarizes the information gathered in the literature review and discusses its implications for future training and parent education efforts. A reference list of more than 300 items is provided. (BC)

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CENTER ON FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, SCHOOLS & CHILDREN'S LEARNING

FAMILY EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Obstacles, Opportunities, and Outcomes

For Low-Income Mothers

Sharon L. Kagan
Joan Costley
Linda Landesman
Fern Marx
Peter Neville
Susan Parker
Jean Rustici

Report No. 4 / March 1992

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FAMILY EDUCATION AND TRAINING

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CENTER ON FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, SCHOOLS & CHILDREN'S LEARNING

The nation's schools must do more to improve the education of all children, but schools cannot do this alone. More will be accomplished if families and communities work with children, with each other, and with schools to promote successful students.

The mission of this Center is to conduct research, evaluations, policy analyses, and dissemination to produce new and useful knowledge about how families, schools, and communities influence student motivation, learning, and development. A second important goal is to improve the connections between and among these major social institutions.

Two research programs guide the Center's work: the Program on the Early Years of Childhood, covering children aged 0-10 through the elementary grades; and the Program on the Years of Early and Late Adolescence, covering youngsters aged 11-19 through the middle and high school grades.

Research on family, school, and community connections must be conducted to understand more about all children and all families, not just those who are economically and educationally advantaged or already connected to school and community resources. The Center's projects pay particular attention to the diversity of family cultures and backgrounds and to the diversity in family, school, and community practices that support families in helping children succeed across the years of childhood and adolescence. Projects also examine policies at the federal, state, and local levels that produce effective partnerships.

A third program of Institutional Activities includes a wide range of dissemination projects to extend the Center's national leadership. The Center's work will yield new information, practices, and policies to promote partnerships among families, communities, and schools to benefit children's learning.

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ABSTRACT

The training of low-income women has been a subject of much controversy for the past 100 years. Widely debated in the women's, labor, education and training literatures, training low-income women for child care employment (either home or center-based) has been attempted less frequently. Laden more with ideology than empiricism, quality research is sparse, though not non-existent. Several demonstration efforts launched in conjunction with federal legislation (WIN, CETA, JTPA, FSA) or under the aegis of public/private partnerships (New Chance, MFSP Demonstration) provide insights into the opportunities and obstacles associated with training low-income women in general. And, though considerably fewer, some studies address training low-income women for child care employment in particular (Fresh Start, CWLA, CAPE, CDA). Moreover, relevant information is available in the youth employment, vocational education, community development, adult learning and development, literacy, and parenting education literatures. Such analyses have examined complex questions related to definition of low-income women (Besharov, 1989; Ellwood, 1988), training as a cause and effect of gender inequity (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979; U.S. GAO, 1989a, 1989b), and the general viability of welfare-to-work programs (Gueron, 1989; Rockefeller, 1990).

The specific purpose of the year I review of the literature was to answer the question, how can we most effectively train low-income women for positions in family or center-based child care, given what we know about: a) low-income women, their development and learning; b) the effects of federal policies on female employability; c) the effects of specific child care training and parenting programs for this population; and d) the current early care and education market, industry, and profession in our nation.

FAMILY EDUCATION AND TRAINING

OBSTACLES, OPPORTUNITIES, AND OUTCOMES FOR LOW-INCOME MOTHERS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The training of low-income women has been a subject of much controversy for the past 100 years. Widely debated in the women's, labor, education and training literatures, training low-income women for child care employment (either home or center-based) has been attempted less frequently. Laden more with ideology than empiricism, quality research is sparse, though not non-existent. Several demonstration efforts launched in conjunction with federal legislation (WIN, CETA, JTPA, FSA) or under the aegis of public/private partnerships (New Chance, MFSP Demonstration) provide insights into the opportunities and obstacles associated with training low-income women in general. And, though considerably fewer, some studies address training low-income women for child care employment in particular (Fresh Start, CWLA, CAPE, CDA). Moreover, relevant information is available in the youth employment, vocational education, community development, adult learning and development, literacy, and parenting education literatures. Such analyses have examined complex questions related to definition of low-income women (Besharov, 1989; Ellwood, 1988), training as a cause and effect of gender inequity (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979; U.S. GAO, 1989a, 1989b), and the general viability of welfare-to-work programs (Gueron, 1989; Rockefeller, 1990).

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To examine this question, the analysis examined five inter-related topics: (1) the participant body, discerning what we know about sub-groups of low-income women, their development and learning; (2) the major federal employment and training efforts, emphasizing relevant lessons, barriers and benefits; (3) specific child care training, parenting, literacy, two-generational, and vocational and community education programs, with the goal of shedding light on curricular and instructional modalities and their effects; (4) the state of the child care industry, examining caregiver supply, career ladders, financial incentives, and potential revenue streams that might be available to partially support subsequent phases of the project and (5) the implications of the literature review for this project. The findings from each section are summarized below.

The Participant Body

The definition of low-income, and the distinctions among the various subgroups of the low-income population, have been the focus of considerable discussion and controversy in the literature. Though low-income is commonly defined as living in a household or family with a yearly income below the poverty line, the determination of the poverty line has been criticized for its failure to account for such variables as regional variation (Ellwood, 1988) and the recent increase in the cost of housing relative to other family costs (Duncan, 1984).

Within the category of low-income are two major subgroups: (1) welfare recipients (including AFDC, Food Stamps, and/or Medicaid); and (2) the working poor (who do not qualify for welfare although their income level falls below the poverty line). Ellwood (1988) points out that poor single-parent families (female headed) are more likely to qualify for welfare than poor two-parent families, who tend to be among the working poor. He further notes that although single-parent families on welfare may receive more supports and be better off than the working poor, these supports can place recipients in what has been termed the "poverty trap," in which attempts to leave welfare through employment are met with immediate reductions in benefits.

Demographic research indicates that 59 percent of women on welfare first gave birth as a teenager, that the majority have 1 or 2 children, and that 65% of AFDC mothers have an education level of at least a high school diploma or GED (Zill, Moore, Nord, & Stief, 1991). In addition, studies have suggested that there is a certain amount of mobility in and out of poverty (Bane & Ellwood, 1986; Duncan, 1984), though the extent of the mobility is unclear due to a lack of agreement on methodological and definitional issues. Still, demographic differences between long-term and short-term welfare recipients and poor have been discovered. Female-headed families are much more likely to be persistently poor and welfare-dependent (Duncan, 1984), and for never-married mothers, this effect is even more pronounced (Besharov, 1989; Ellwood, 1986). Nonwhites have spells that are about twice as long as whites (Ruggles, 1988, 1989), and longer poverty spells/welfare recipiency are also associated with lower education levels (Besharov, 1989; Bane & Ellwood, 1983; O'Neill, Wolf, Bassi, & Hannan, 1984; Zill et al., 1991), previous welfare receipt (Grossman, Maynard, & Roberts, 1985), teen motherhood (Ooms & Owen, 1991; Zill et al., 1991), and greater number of children (Zill et al., 1991).

Though not focused on issues of low-income, the literatures on adult development and learning provide further insight into more general aspects of the participant body. The adult development literature considers the existence of distinct stages of development (stage theory), the categorization of individuals as they develop (differential theory), and their possible linkage to age and biological development, external events and crises, and internal aggregations of experience.

In addition, there is evidence of unique developmental issues and characteristics specifically concerning women. First, warnings have been issued by some researchers concerning the inappropriateness of many developmental models to explain the experience of women, citing their inability to consider a stronger relationship orientation for women (Gilligan, 1982), differences between genders in coping styles at simultaneous life stages (Lowenthal, Turner, & Chiriboga, 1975), and a unique set of developmental stages for women based on their social roles and life goals (e.g., integrating the conflicting responsibilities of family and career) (Sheehy, 1976). Second, the development of adolescent mothers has been found to be somewhat different from that of other adolescent girls. Motherhood compresses in time the already complicated tasks of adolescent development and self-definition, and the ability of teen mothers to make the successful transition to adulthood is often predicated on the availability of support from family, peers, schools, and other social institutions. Given the fact that the majority (59%) of low-income women first gave birth as teenagers (Zill, Moore, Nord, & Stief, 1991), this knowledge is particularly critical to the construction of the proposed intervention.

Linked closely to adult development theory, the adult learning literature provides insight into the motivation of adult learners and the conditions of their receptivity to instruction. In contrast with children's learning, adult learning is usually motivated by a specific desire to solve a practical problem (Knowles, 1980; Zemke & Zemke, 1981) or to learn an immediately-applicable skill (Knox, 1980), and in such cases it is most effective when directed and paced by the learner, rather than the teacher. Adult learners often need help in understanding the relevance of what they are learning (Cross, 1981), and this is often best done by relating the new information to past experience (Knowles, 1980). Research has also noted the effect of learning on personal development, citing the ability of education to instill feelings of empowerment (Freire, 1970), propel individuals into new courses of action (Mezirow, 1981), and in fact create the reversal of self-fulfilling prophecies (Lasker & Moore, 1980).

Federal Employment and Training Efforts

Federal job training efforts have been primarily conducted under the aegis of three departments: Labor (employment and training), Education (vocational training), and Health and Human Services (welfare-related training). Tracing the evolution of federal job training policy reveals that, in contrast with today's programs, early efforts tended to focus on job creation and placement rather than skills training, on federal rather than local oversight, and on men rather than women. During the development and growth of federal involvement--through the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973, the Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA) of 1983, and the 1988 Family Support Act (FSA)--the government has gradually come to embrace some of the philosophies and strategies necessary to address the training and support needs of low-income women. However, real equity for women in training has not yet been reached. Research has found that under JTPA, women receive different training modalities than men and are trained for occupations with lower skill levels (U.S. GAO, 1989a), and that in fact the act's emphasis on performance standards may be a disincentive to train women, who often need additional supports. In addition, women with children under the age of five are underrepresented in much of the literature because, until the FSA, they were exempt from welfare-mandated training. Now that their participation is required, this population's unique training needs may make the generalization of many extant research findings inappropriate.

Given these caveats, some general relevant findings can be drawn from the literature. To begin with, though most evaluated employment and training programs have demonstrated positive impacts on low-income women, these impacts have generally been insufficient to raise significant numbers of women out of poverty (Maxfield, 1990). Impacts have been strongest on those who have not completed high school (Hollister, Kemper, & Maynard, 1984), or who in other ways are less likely to succeed on their own. For AFDC recipients, programs incorporating job training with supported work have been the most effective. Finally, measuring program benefits in terms of social impact and economic gains to participants (which is not often done) indicates that more expensive interventions, such as supported work, are the most effective (Maxfield, 1990).

Training and Parenting Programs

A review of the gamut of specific training and parenting program types--including nation-wide general employment efforts, child care training, general parenting, and two-generation and literacy programs--reveals a promising precedent for the proposed intervention, as well as concrete recommendations for the education and training of low-income women. Initial forays into the field of training low-income women for child care were made in the 1960s and 1970s under the Child Welfare League of America (two programs) and the U.S. Department of Labor's Women's Bureau (Fresh Start). These programs, though varying in their levels of success, established the long discussed topic as a viable field for further development.

Though extensive, the training and parenting literature reveals certain commonalities, both within the field and with other sections of the literature review. Echoing the adult learning literature, a strong trend in the programs reviewed was the focus on linking training to practical issues in participants' lives--often through the use of concurrent hands-on practice--and the efficacy of self-paced, competency-based training to meet participants' individualized needs and learning styles. The profound barriers to self-sufficiency faced by low-income women were cited throughout the literature to stress the inclusion of comprehensive support services (child care, transportation, counseling) in training programs. Programs dating back to the CWLA efforts have noted the value of having specific guidelines to train program instructors (to minimize instructors' individual interpretations of the intervention). The growing trend to incorporate children and parents together in a learning setting has recognized potent secondary program benefits arising from the interaction between children and parents. Finally, though the roles of parent and child care provider are in many ways similar, a comparison of the two reveals certain differences in the responsibilities of these roles, and indicates that no single training modality could adequately address both.

The State of the Child Care Industry

Literature on the economic forces affecting the child care industry predicts a continued increase in demand for center-based child care. This increase is expected to be especially strong in infant and toddler centers, given the earlier return of mothers to the work force following child birth. Expansion of the market, however, will not necessarily be accompanied by improved conditions for employees. Despite the promise of expanding employment opportunities, research suggests that there will be no substantial increase in wages. Wages have not increased in real terms over the past twenty years of market expansion and increased government subsidy (Kisker, Hofferth, & Phillips, 1991), and unless the market becomes less elastic (i.e., the worker supply becomes less responsive to small changes in wages), wages are likely to remain low (Blau, 1989). Also, the existence of career ladders and other tools for career advancement within the field remain limited, although research linking provider training with quality of care (Ruopp, Travers, Glantz, & Coelen, 1979) and criticizing the present system of provider training (Bredekamp, 1990; Copple, 1990; Costley, 1988; Howes, 1990; Peters, 1988; Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 1990) is motivating organizations (Center for Career Development, Child Care Employee Project, NAEYC) to explore methods of establishing a widespread and comprehensive system of career advancement.

Programs that train low-income women for employment in child care may tap into a wide range of potential funding sources. Promising sources include the CDA Scholarship program, Head Start, the JOBS program, FSA Title IV-A (Child Care Licensing/Monitoring Improvement Grants), Title XX (Social Services Block Grant), Child Care and Development Block Grant, JTPA (Titles II-A and III), and Pell Grants, though few of these sources mandate dollars specifically for this purpose.

Implications for the Project

Though not exhaustive within each of the disciplines addressed, the literature review provides an overall view of the critical issues that the training/parenting intervention will face. Particularly striking is the agreement of findings across disciplines. The literatures both on personal development and on the efficacy of training interventions support the proactive role of adults in their own learning, the need for support services, and the need for training to have immediate, practical relevance to participants' lives.

The findings of the review suggest some concrete recommendations for the design and implementation of the training/parenting intervention:

(1) The intervention should target low-income mothers with a high school diploma or equivalent (in order to train high quality providers while minimizing training costs), and who have children under age five (to maximize the effects of parenting training). These criteria would make eligible more than half of the women on AFDC, as well as about half of the women classified by the Family Support Act as long-term dependents.

(2) Participation should be voluntary.

(3) The intervention should be comprehensive to meet participants' needs for support services.

(4) The intervention should be individualized to accommodate varied learning rates and styles, to meet participants' needs as adult learners, and to respect their backgrounds. A sense of independence should be fostered through a balance of structured support and personal responsibility.

(5) The curriculum should relate closely to real-world issues, include practical experience, and provide guidelines for training the instructors.

(6) The intervention should be viewed not simply as a job training program, but as a route to self-sufficiency, improved family conditions, and a more positive sense of well-being for parents and children alike.

INTRODUCTION

THE PROJECT: GOALS AND DURATION

Inspired by data that attest to the efficacy of early intervention, federal and state legislatures have dramatically increased their commitments to child care and early education programs. Such program expansion has created a need for well-trained child care staff, an employment pool already characterized by short supply and high turnover rates (41 percent). Responding to these factors, leaders in the early care and education profession have begun to reassess the field's training capacity.

Simultaneously, social planners have suggested that low-income mothers whose children may be enrolled in the new programs as a result of welfare reform legislation (e.g., the Family Support Act) might be a suitable pool of potential trainees for child care and early education positions, thereby increasing their employability and their knowledge of child development. Moreover, it has been postulated that such training might have unanticipated benefits on the trainees' children, specifically on the youngsters' readiness for formal schooling and their success in school.

Coupling the intensity of interest in early intervention with the wish to optimize opportunity for low-income women and their children, our project has been constructed (1) to investigate the impact of a comprehensive child care training program on the employability of low-income women who are parents and (2) to assess the impact that such training has on their skills in parenting their own children. The project hypothesizes that high-quality comprehensive training for employment in child care, coupled with appropriate supports, can have economic, social, and educational benefits for low-income women and their children and can help fill a growing employment gap in the supply of child care personnel.

Our project is expected to last five years. During the first year, the period covered by this report, literature was examined. The second year will be devoted to applying the lessons garnered to the development of the training system including adapting curriculum and instructional strategies; discerning necessary supports (e.g., child care, transportation) and delivery mechanisms (e.g., length, structure); and locating pilot sites. In the third year, the training system will be implemented and baseline data collected on cohort I. In the fourth year, cohort I will be followed and cohort II will be trained and placed. In the fifth and final year, cohorts I and II will be evaluated and the training system revised in accordance with lessons learned.

YEAR I SCOPE AND STATUS

The training of low-income women has been a subject of much controversy for decades. Though widely debated in the women's, labor, and education and training literatures, training low-income women for child care employment (either home- or center-based) has been attempted less frequently in practice. Laden more with ideology than empiricism, the quest for quality research has also remained sparse, though not nonexistent. Several demonstration efforts launched in conjunction with federal legislation (WIN, CETA, JTPA, FSA) or under the aegis of public/private partnerships (Fresh Start, CWLA, CAPE, CDA) provide insights into the opportunities and obstacles associated with training low-income women in general. And, though considerably fewer, some studies address training low-income women for child care employment in particular. Moreover, relevant information is available in the youth employment, vocational education, community development, adult learning and development, literacy, and parenting education literatures.

Such analyses have examined complex questions related to the definition of low-income women (Besharov, 1989; Ellwood, 1988), the comparative value of training this population for traditional or nontraditional employment (Haignere & Steinberg, 1989), training as a cause and effect of gender inequity (Harlan & Steinberg, 1989), and the general viability of welfare-to-work programs (Gueron, 1989).

In other domains, empirical work has examined adolescent and adult development and learning, emphasizing various approaches to development; the role of contextual variables (including socioeconomic status) and personal variables (gender and age) on adult learning and motivation; and the effects of various parenting education and family support interventions on child and family outcomes. But however robust the individual studies, little systematic effort has been expended, first, in integrating them and, second, in extracting the salient lessons for implementing a training/parenting program for low-income women. Assessing their viability and discerning possible effects on participants' children demanded such a survey and synthesis. Our team felt that no component could be omitted without sacrificing information critical to the development of our training plan. As a result, this analysis, despite its rather straightforward purpose, delves into diverse literatures. It does not attempt to cover each fully. Rather, our intent is to discern the literature most relevant to our purpose and to synthesize it so it will be useful for our planning.

Specifically, the purpose of the year I review of the literature is to answer two fundamental questions. First, can we train low-income women to be effective providers of family or center-based child care, given what we know about (a) the development and learning of low-income women; (b) the effects of federal policies on female employability; (c) the effects of specific child care training and parenting programs for this population; and (d) the current early care and education market, industry, and profession in our nation? Second, if such training is feasible, how can we maximize the experience so that it will have the greatest impact on parents, their employability, their parenting skills and attitudes, and ultimately on their children's readiness for school and school performance?

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

To examine these questions, this report is divided into five major sections. The first discusses the participants, discerning what we know--and don't know--about subgroups of low-income women, their personal and career development and learning. In the second section, the rich but fragmented history of federal employment and training policies will be chronicled. Specific attention will be accorded efforts launched through the Departments of Labor (e.g., CETA, JTPA, YEDPA), Education (e.g, Vocational Education), and Health and Human Services (WIN, CWEP, FSA). Moving from a policy and systemic focus, the third section provides more in-depth analysis of specific programs, extracting process and outcome lessons that will help shape a training and parenting programs. We examine training programs that were designed to prepare low-income women for employment generally and for child care positions specifically. We then discuss similarities and differences between training individuals to be child care providers and training them for parenthood before turning to a detailed discussion of parenting education efforts, including two-generation and literacy efforts. The fourth section reviews three critical issues in the child care industry that are immediately germane to implementing the training/parenting program. Specifically, the section examines the need for trained caregivers, the viability of career ladders, and potential revenue sources that might be available to partially support subsequent phases of the project. The final section summarizes the information gathered in the literature review and discusses its implications for future efforts in the field.

SECTION I

THE PARTICIPANTS

As the frame for future conceptual work, this section examines the potential participants for the training/parenting program. First, in chapter 1, we address the questions: Who are low-income women? What are their similarities and differences? What do we know about them that will be helpful in planning our intervention? Chapter 2 surveys our knowledge of adult development, and chapter 3 examines adult learning. In both these chapters, we extract findings from the literature germane to low-income women. In chapter 4, we turn to a more detailed analysis of adolescent development, discerning how normal adolescent development may vary for low-income teen mothers. In chapter 5, we examine women in light of their careers, assessing various facilitators and inhibitors of career development. In this chapter we pay particular attention to the career trajectories of women from diverse cultures. Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the implications of the section's chapters for the training/parenting program.

CHAPTER 1

DEFINING LOW-INCOME WOMEN

The purpose of this chapter is to define the target population for the proposed intervention. On the surface, this may seem a simple task. A review of the literature, however, reveals a considerable debate regarding exactly what constitutes low-income and what distinguishes the various categories of low-income. Focusing on defining the target population enables us to better understand the specific characteristics of low-income women and to plan more appropriate training interventions. For example, one would expect that a college-educated but recently unemployed woman who is currently low-income would require a different type of training for child care than a woman who has not completed high school and has been a long-term welfare recipient.

To accomplish this goal, the chapter will first provide some basic definitions of poverty, welfare, and household types used throughout the paper. Second, it will discuss who low-income women are and how they differ from the rest of the population. Third, it will examine the importance of length of time individuals have low incomes. Fourth, it will focus on demographic differences among those who are poor a long time versus those who are poor a short time. The fifth section will focus on differences, such as education or work experience, that are likely to affect low-income women's employability. The final section will describe implications of previous research for our proposed training program and make a recommendation as to the most likely target group for the training/parenting intervention. Because the proposed program is designed solely for mothers, most (but not all) of the research we discuss addresses low-income mothers.

BASIC DEFINITIONS

At the outset, we must provide a few definitions of economic terms. In order to refer to the living arrangements of low-income women, we first will define families and households. Researchers have used both households and families as units of analysis. A household includes all persons (related and unrelated) who occupy a housing unit; a family is defined as two or more persons residing together and related by blood, marriage, or adoptions. It is worth noting that all families must, by definition, be part of a household. It is not true, however, that all households contain at least one family. For instance, two unrelated persons living together are a household but not a family. A person living alone is counted as a household (Ross & Sawhill, 1975).

In addition, we make a distinction between types of families and households. Our main distinction is between male-headed/two-parent and female-headed/single-parent families and households. For our purposes, each type may be described either by the head of the family or household or by the number of parents (the terms are interchangeable) for the following reasons. First, the Census Bureau labels all husband/wife living arrangements as male-headed (Ross & Sawhill, 1975). Second, nearly all single-parent families consist of a mother and her children living alone (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990).

We define low-income women as all women living in a household or family with a yearly income level below the poverty line. The poverty line is a level of income for particular household/family sizes which is set by the government such that anyone with an income level below the poverty line is deemed "poor". For example, in 1987 the poverty line for a four-person family was $11,611 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The percentage of all individuals who were below the poverty line in 1988 was 13.1; by race, 10.1 percent of all white individuals were poor, and 31.6 percent of all black individuals were poor (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990).

The poverty line has two major uses. First, it provides summary statistics of the number of people who are economically deprived in a given period. The most commonly used poverty statistics are computed on a yearly basis. One common use of poverty statistics is to examine over time how these figures have changed. Poverty statistics are calculated by region, age, race, and household or family type, thereby providing at least a partial description of the poor population. Second, the poverty line is used as a standard of eligibility for transfer programs. For example, qualification for Food Stamps requires an income level below the poverty line (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on House Ways and Means, 1991).

Although the poverty line is widely used, it has some shortcomings. First, it is not adjusted for regional differences in the cost of living (Ellwood, 1988). For instance, the poverty line for a family of three is the same whether the family lives in New York City or Des Moines, Iowa. Second, the poverty line is an absolute standard. Anyone with an income level $1 above the poverty line is not counted as poor, although that individual may be no better off economically than a person with an income level $1 below it.

There has also been some criticism that the current poverty line sets an income level that is too low. The original formula for the poverty line was based on the observation that in the 1960s people generally spent about 30 percent of their household budget on food. Hence, the poverty line was determined by finding the cost of a minimally adequate diet, and then multiplying that figure by three (Ellwood, 1988). This same procedure is followed today. Because of the rising costs of housing, however, there is evidence that most individuals now spend a smaller percentage of their income on food. Also, the food needs standard was originally designated for only "temporary or emergency use", not as a permanent measure of necessary expenditures on food (Duncan, 1984). In light of this, some researchers compute the number of poor by using an income level higher than the official poverty line, for instance by multiplying the official poverty line by 1.25 (Duncan, 1984). Using this type of "inflated" poverty line leads to a higher count of individuals in poverty.

A final criticism of the measurement of poverty is that in-kind transfers, such as Food Stamps and Medicaid, are not counted as part of a person's income. If the value of these in-kind transfers were included in a person's income, the number of individuals counted as poor would be reduced. Overall, as William Julius Wilson has noted (1987), these biases may balance out so that the extent of poverty may not be exaggerated by the official poverty formula.

It is important to distinguish between the group of individuals who are poor and the group of individuals who receive welfare benefits; these groups are not equivalent. We argue below that those individuals who receive welfare benefits are a subset of those individuals who are poor. Not all poor individuals receive welfare payments, but it is generally true that those individuals who do receive welfare benefits are poor.

We have already defined poor individuals as all those with an income level below the poverty line. In this paper welfare recipients will refer to those individuals who are neither elderly nor disabled but receive some type of means-tested benefits (Ellwood, 1988). Means-tested benefits are those for which eligibility requires that one demonstrate that one have limited means, such as low income and wealth. The main welfare programs aimed at the low-income population are Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) (cash benefits), Food Stamps (vouchers for the purchase of food), and Medicaid (health benefits). We will classify anyone who receives one of these benefits as a welfare recipient. In practice, AFDC is the program most widely used to refer to welfare recipiency, and studying the welfare population is often a synonym for studying the AFDC population.

There are many poor individuals who do not receive any kind of welfare payment. One major reason is that they simply do not meet the qualifications. The eligibility criteria for welfare receipts are quite stringent. These eligibility criteria differ among the states and jurisdictions, but qualification for each of the three programs above generally requires low income and virtually no assets. In the case of AFDC, the major cash welfare program in the United States, states determine benefits by first determining a basic standard of living measure and developing benefits according to this standard of need. According to Levitan (1985), however, the established needs standards do not accurately reflect actual living costs, and in two thirds of the states the standard of need is set below the national poverty threshold. Only twelve states allow one's income level to exceed the poverty line during the first four months of AFDC receipt and still retain eligibility. After one year of recipiency, all states require that income levels be below the poverty line to retain any eligibility. Furthermore, prior to October 1, 1990, approximately half the states required that a woman be unmarried in order to receive AFDC. The remaining states had an AFDC-Unemployed Parents program, which allowed two-parent families to receive AFDC as long as the principal wage earner was currently unemployed but had a history of wage employment. The new regulations require that all states adopt the AFDC-UP program (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means, 1991).

In practice, the people who receive AFDC (and those likely to receive it in the future) are almost all female-headed families: families headed by women with children under the age of 18 and with no able-bodied male present (Moffitt, 1991). In 1989, 92.4% of AFDC families had no father in the house (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means, 1991). This statistic is unlikely to change in the future, as evidenced by the fact that the enrollment in the states that have had an AFDC-UP program has been quite small (Moffitt, 1991).

Standard eligibility for Medicaid, the major source of health benefits for the poor, requires either AFDC recipiency or Supplemental Security Income recipiency (assistance for the needy who are elderly, blind, or disabled). Approximately two thirds of Medicaid recipients become eligible through their recipiency of AFDC (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Poor husband-wife couples are thus not generally eligible for Medicaid receipts. Although 37 states allow some benefits for non-AFDC female-headed families, only "major medical expenses" are covered and those only when families have "spent down" their assets, and thus are effectively poor (Moffitt, 1991).

Finally, eligibility for Food Stamps requires that net monthly income levels not exceed the poverty line, and that liquid asset levels not exceed $2,000 for households without an elderly member and $3,000 for households with an elderly member (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on House Ways and Means, 1991). To summarize, these eligibility criteria suggest that those on welfare (as we have defined welfare) are generally a subset of the poor population. There are exceptions, (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991), but they are in the minority.

WHO ARE LOW-INCOME WOMEN?

Our main objective in this section is to describe basic demographic characteristics of low-income women as they differ from those of the rest of the population. As we will see, low-income women are a diverse group, varying by such factors as race, age, educational level, marital status, welfare receipt, and employment.

Zill, Moore, Nord, and Stief (1991) found that low-income mothers, whether working poor or on welfare, had lower educational levels, were less likely to be employed, and were less likely to have employment experience than non-poor mothers. They found that a majority (59 percent) of women currently on welfare had given birth as a teenager, versus 51 percent of poor non-welfare recipients and 25 percent of non-poor mothers. Not surprisingly, a very high incidence of unmarried child-bearing characterizes the AFDC population; more than half of all welfare children are born outside of marriage, versus 17 percent for poor non-AFDC recipients and 5 percent for non-poor mothers. Only about a third of the women on AFDC are married, but 63 percent of poor non-AFDC recipients and 89 percent of the nonpoor population are married.

A majority (57 percent) of women receiving AFDC during 1987 were under age 30, but only 6 percent were under age 20. This brings out the point that most welfare mothers are young but not teenagers. Teen mothers make up only 7 percent of AFDC recipients (Ooms & Owen, 1991). A majority (56 percent) of welfare mothers are black or Hispanic, and most welfare mothers have one or two children, with only 10 percent having four or more children (Zill et al., 1991).

Another important characteristic of low-income women is their type of living arrangements. Are low-income mothers more likely to live in two-parent families (male-headed families) or single-parent families (female-headed families)? It is worth noting that there has been a steady rise in the number of female-headed families in the United States. For instance, in 1960, 9.4 percent of all families were female-headed, and in 1983 this figure had grown to 15.4 percent (Moffitt, 1991). There is no one single explanation for this trend. Researchers point to the growth in female wages relative to male wages, the women's movement, and changing attitudes toward unmarried child-bearing as possible explanations (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986). Wilson (1987) attributes the rise in black female-headed families to the decline in "marriageable" black men; the ratio of employed black men to black women has been decreasing over time.

Whatever the causes, single-parent (female-headed) families are much more likely to suffer economic hardship than are two-parent families. First, they are much more likely to have low incomes. For example, the average income level for female-headed families with children in 1987 was $10,551, and the average income for married-couple families with children was $36,366 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Female-headed families also have a much higher incidence of poverty than do two-parent families. For instance, 33.6 percent of all individuals living in female-headed families in 1988 were below the poverty line, versus 12.1 percent of individuals in all family types. (It is worth remembering that although we are speaking about low-income women who are poor or on welfare, this is equivalent to speaking about the family or household type that is poor or on welfare. If a women is poor, this implies [by the definition of the poverty line] that those she lives with are poor as well.)

These figures support Garfinkel and McLanahan's (1986) claim that, regardless of the measure of poverty used, families headed by single women are the poorest of all major demographic groups. They argue that the poverty and economic insecurity of single-parent families are a consequence of three factors: the low earnings capacity of single mothers, the lack of child support from noncustodial fathers, and the meager benefits provided by public assistance programs. However, this implies not that all poor individuals live in female-headed families, but that female-headed families are simply more likely to be poor. In fact, although two-parent families have a lower incidence of poverty, there are more poor individuals in two-parent families because two-parent families are still in the majority.

David Ellwood (1988) views the poverty of poor two-parent families as the poverty of the working poor, resulting mainly from low wages and unemployment. Most poor two-parent families have at least one parent working full-time, but they are still not earning enough income to escape poverty. (One parent working full-time at the minimum wage does not earn nearly enough income to keep his or her family out of poverty.) They are, however, earning enough income to be ineligible for most types of welfare benefits. Consequently, the working poor are not any better off than those who rely solely on welfare payments; they may even be considerably worse off because low-wage jobs have very poor medical benefits compared with Medicaid. Poor two-parent families are likely to be white and live in rural areas. Eighty-five percent of mothers in two-parent poor families work part-time or less and 60 percent of these women have at least a high school education.

Ellwood's view (1988) of poor single parent families (female-headed) is that they face problems similar to those faced by two-parent families, but these problems are worsened by the fact that they must also balance the "dual roles of nurturer and provider." Although poor single-parent families are more likely to be eligible for welfare payments, he argues that the structure of the welfare system hinders women from becoming self-sufficient. For instance, if a woman tries to leave welfare by working, her welfare benefits are reduced concurrently as she earns income, a phenomenon termed the "poverty trap". Ellwood demonstrates that a woman will have more income as well as better medical coverage by not working rather than working full-time at the minimum wage. Even so, single mothers work more than wives (in 1984, 27 percent of wives worked full-time versus 41 percent of single mothers). About 56 percent of poor single mothers are black, and about 70 percent live in urban or suburban areas. Only 53 percent of poor single mothers have completed their high school education.

Garfinkel and McLanahan (1986) focus not just on the economic welfare of single women with children but also on the mental well-being and happiness of these families. They point out that policy makers, in their search for solutions to the economic problems of these families, need to consider the psychological impact of programs as well. For instance, are children better off if their mothers work or stay at home? They note that single mothers report higher rates of anxiety and depression than married women, much of which can be explained by differences in income and economic stability (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986).

DURATION OF LOW INCOME: A CRITICAL FACTOR

Having provided a general introduction to the women who have low incomes, we will now discuss research on the length of time women have low incomes. We will look at research which analyzes both women who are poor and women who are on welfare.

Yearly poverty rates--that is, the percentage of the population that is poor in a given year--are deceiving because these percentages do not change much from year to year, implying that the same people are poor every year. For instance, 12.4 percent of the population was below the poverty level in 1979, and 13.1 percent were below the poverty line in 1988. These figures hide the fact that some people are poor for a very short period of time, and others may experience persistent poverty, remaining poor continuously for a period of years. Greg Duncan's research (1984) argues that over the period from 1969 to 1978, 24.4 percent of the population suffered at least one year of poverty, but only 2.6 percent of the population was poor persistently (defined by Duncan as being poor in eight or more of the ten years). Figures such as these have at least two implications. First, they imply that poverty touches a large percentage (almost 25 percent) of the population at some point in time. Second, they imply that persistent poverty affects only a small percentage of the population, or alternatively, that the size of the underclass is small. Overall, Duncan suggests that many Americans will have short spells in poverty but relatively few will experience very long poverty spells. In short, there seems to be a surprising amount of mobility in and out of poverty.

Although most academic researchers would agree that there is mobility in and out of poverty, there is controversy over the extent of the mobility and the size of the population that is persistently poor. This controversy has resulted from disagreements over the proper statistical techniques to use for estimation. (Note that what constitutes "persistent poverty" is defined by the researcher, meaning there is no one widely accepted definition of the nature and extent of the time an individual must be poor to be classified as persistently poor.) One widely cited study disagreeing with the above numbers was conducted by Mary Jo Bane and David Ellwood (1986). Contrary to the above evidence, they found that at any given time over half the individuals who were currently poor were in the midst of a poverty spell that would last ten years or more. They argue that while a majority of those who are ever poor will have a short spell in poverty (less than three years), half of those who are poor at a given point in time will have a very long spell in poverty (ten years or more). Their analysis also implies that the long-term poor consume a majority of the resources that the government spends to help the poor. They found that poverty spells are longest when initiated by a family becoming female-headed (versus other causes, such as loss of job).

Ellwood (1988) has found that single-parent families are much more likely to experience persistent poverty than are two-parent families. For instance, he finds that during the 1970s, 80 percent of children who grew up in stable two-parent homes did not experience poverty in any of the first ten years of their life, and only 2 percent experienced persistent poverty (defined as experiencing poverty in at least seven of the first ten years of the child's life). Conversely, of all children who spent any time in a single parent family, only 27 percent avoided any time in poverty and 22 percent experienced persistent poverty.

There is also, not surprisingly, a similar relationship for women who receive welfare benefits, in that some women receive benefits for a short time and others receive benefits for a long time. Duncan (1984) has found that 25.2 percent of the population received welfare benefits during at least one year over the period 1969-78, while only 4.4 percent of the population was welfare dependent, receiving benefits in at least eight of these ten years. Ellwood (1986) has found that about half of the new entrants to AFDC are off of welfare within four years (most within two years) although almost 25 percent will stay on welfare for ten or more years.

Long-term welfare recipients are increasingly becoming a focal point of policy concern. The Family Support Act (FSA) targets long-term recipients as a main source group for aid in becoming economically self-sufficient. The issue of how long one must be on welfare to be considered a "long-term welfare recipient" is also a matter of debate, but the FSA defines long-term recipients as those who have received welfare in at least three out of the past five years (Zill et al., 1991).

Targeting long-term recipients brings up the interesting issue of identification. The only individuals one knows are long-term recipients are those who have already received welfare for a long time. But we are also interested in identifying the potential long-term recipients, that is, the new entrants to welfare who are likely to remain on welfare for a long time. In order to target them, one needs to know how long-term recipients differ from short-term recipients. For instance, are long-term recipients primarily high school dropouts and are short-term recipients primarily high school graduates? Are short-term recipients older than long-term recipients? Understanding the differences between these groups will provide the information necessary to best help them through training programs and will also provide clues as to the reasons for the differences in their economic hardships.

DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM POOR WOMEN

In this section we describe some demographic differences between short-term and long-term poor mothers/welfare recipients. Again, there is no one agreed-upon definition of persistent poverty or long-term welfare dependence, but we describe researcher definitions when they are provided. In some cases, a long-term group and a short-term group are distinguished simply by observing that one group has longer poverty spells or longer welfare spells than the other group. For example, blacks have longer spells in poverty than whites.

We noted earlier that female-headed families are at high risk to be persistently poor and welfare-dependent. Duncan (1984) found that female-headed households are much more likely to be persistently poor rather than temporarily poor, with 61 percent of all individuals who are persistently poor (poor in at least eight out of ten years) living in female-headed households versus 28 percent of those temporarily poor (poor one or two years).

How do families become female-headed? The two most common routes are (1) married women with children divorcing or separating and (2) single women bearing a child but not marrying. Besharov (1989) argues that families headed by never-married mothers experience longer and more severe poverty than families headed by divorced mothers. For instance, in 1985, the mean family income for never-married mothers with children was $6,225, whereas for divorced mothers with children the figure was $13,281. In 1983, 69 percent of all never-married women with children were below the poverty line, compared with 44 percent for divorced or separated mothers. He also cites Ellwood (1986) that never-married women who go on AFDC stay on it for an average of 9.3 years, whereas divorced women stay on for an average of 4.9 years.

According to Besharov, much of these differences in economic well-being can be explained by social, economic, and educational factors. For instance, never-married mothers are on average about ten years younger than divorced mothers. Additionally, only 53 percent of never-married mothers have a high school education compared with 77 percent of divorced mothers. Furthermore, 63 percent of all divorced mothers work full time, whereas only 29 percent of never-married mothers work full time. He also points to differences in child support. In 1983, 76 percent of divorced women received child-support awards compared with only 18 percent of unwed mothers. In summary, Besharov offers mounting evidence that suggests never-married mothers compose the majority of long-term welfare dependents--a permanent underclass. Ruggles (1988, 1989) finds results similar to Besharov's. Her analysis of poverty spells shows that nonwhites in female-headed families with children are likely to have much longer spells in poverty than other family types. She also finds that never-married mothers and those with no recent job experience have spells on AFDC that are more than twice as long as those who have been married or recently employed. Nonwhites have spells that are about twice as long as whites. She finds that the presence of a child under six has no impact on the expected duration of welfare receipt.

Additional evidence comes from Bane and Ellwood (1983) and O'Neill, Wolf, Bassi, and Hannan (1984), who found that women who are nonwhite, have less than twelve years of education, have never been married, have several children, and have no work experience have longer welfare spells than the average new AFDC recipient. O'Neill et al. found that the presence of children under six leads to prolonged welfare spells, but Bane and Ellwood found no significant difference in expected spells for women with or without children. Grossman, Maynard, and Roberts (1985) show that individuals who enter welfare having already experienced a period of welfare receipt have much longer total expected durations on welfare than new, first-time entrants.

Zill et al. (1991) also examined the differences in the 1980s between long-term welfare mothers and short-term welfare mothers. They found that long-term recipients (defined as receiving AFDC in at least three of the last five years) are more likely than short-term recipients (receiving AFDC in less than three of the last five years) to have been teen mothers. Forty-three percent of women who are long-term recipients were age seventeen or younger when their first child was born. Blacks and Hispanics form a larger percentage of long-term recipients than of short-term recipients. Long-term recipients are less educated: 43 percent of the long-term recipients do not have a high school diploma, compared with 30 percent of short-term recipients and 35 percent of poor nonrecipients. Long-term recipients also have more children than short-term recipients.

Ooms and Owen (1991) note that teen mothers compose only 7 percent of the AFDC population, but are at high risk for long-term welfare dependency. Adams and Williams (1990) have found that nearly half of teen mothers will receive AFDC assistance within five years of their first child's birth. Blacks have longer spells than whites, and older teenage mothers are more likely to leave AFDC faster than younger teenage mothers.

In summary, we have discussed the differences between individuals who experience short terms of poverty versus those experiencing long terms. We have also discussed the differences between individuals experiencing short spells of welfare (AFDC) recipiency versus long spells. To reiterate, the group of mothers on welfare is a subset of the group of mothers who are poor, the remaining poor being, in general, the working poor. We have found that for both groups (poor or on welfare) those who are poor or remain on welfare a long time are more likely to be nonwhite and never-married, and to have more children, lower education levels, and less work experience than short-term recipients. In the next section, we elaborate further on those characteristics likely to affect the employability of low-income women.

THE EMPLOYABILITY OF LOW-INCOME WOMEN

What are the skill levels and work experience of poor/welfare women? How do long-term welfare recipients differ from short-term welfare recipients and the non-welfare poor in these areas? In this section, we discuss characteristics that are likely to affect the employability of these women. We have already described some differences in education and labor force activity, but we elaborate further in this section.

Zill et al. (1991) find that welfare mothers have lower education levels, less work experience, and lower self-confidence, and that they score much lower on various aptitude tests than non-poor mothers. However, within the group of welfare mothers, there is wide variability on the above measures. Long-term recipients of welfare (defined as those receiving AFDC for three or more years in a five-year period) have, on average, lower achievement scores and less education and are much less likely to have worked in the past year than short-term recipients (those individuals receiving AFDC for less than three out of the past five years.) Long-term recipients scored significantly lower than short-term recipients on the Armed Forces Qualification Test, a cognitive achievement test. Nearly half of all AFDC mothers scored below the 18th percentile for all women, but about 20 percent of AFDC mothers scored at or above the mean.

In terms of employment activity, most women with preschool children are in the labor force (either employed or looking for work), but most welfare mothers are not. Fifty-nine percent of all women with children aged three to five were in the labor force, whereas the same figure for welfare mothers was 29 percent. Only 8 percent of welfare mothers work full time, whereas 38 percent of all women with children work full time (Zill et al., 1991). Note that this is not inconsistent with our earlier observation that single mothers with children work more than mothers in two-parent families. The implication of the above numbers is that single mothers on welfare work much less than the average for single mothers. Moffitt (1991) has also found that the labor force participation rate of women on AFDC is very low, finding that only 6 percent of AFDC female heads worked in 1987.

Welfare mothers also have little past work experience, although this varies considerably. Twenty percent of welfare mothers had worked at least two years during the previous five, but more than a quarter had not worked at all in the same period. Fifty-eight percent of long-term recipients report they had not worked at all during the previous year versus one-third of short-term recipients (Zill et al., 1991).

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILD CARE TRAINING

What have we learned from the above research? Who are the low-income women we should train for child care positions? Should we direct our efforts toward the long-term or short-term welfare-dependent women? Should we target women who are poor, but not on welfare? Should we target all women who have low income, regardless of the length of time they are poor or on welfare?

Grossman, Maynard, and Roberts (1985) have argued that job training programs should target those individuals who can experience the largest gains in earnings and reductions in welfare payments. They note that rarely do the savings on welfare payments (from individuals leaving welfare as a result of training programs that help them find and keep jobs) outweigh the cost of the training programs, and so many job-training programs have not been effective from a budgetary point of view. In order to design an efficient training program, they argue, one must account for the fact that different groups on welfare respond differently to the same training. Also, one needs to acknowledge that long-term welfare recipients cost the government more in welfare payments than short-term welfare recipients. To restate, the idea is to focus on determining which subgroups of welfare-dependent individuals are likely to be most responsive to these training programs and relate this to the expected lengths of welfare recipiency to make targeting decisions.

Zill et al. (1991) point out that the diversity in skills, educational attainment, and employment experience among welfare recipients makes it very likely that training programs will have more impact on some groups than others. We have previously been discussing divisions of welfare women into two groups, long-term and short-term welfare recipiency. However, one can further divide the long-term into two groups, extreme long-term and shorter long-term. Zill et al. (1991) use quartiles, meaning they divide welfare women into four groups. They rank all the women on welfare by some characteristic, such as education; the top quartile, or upper 25 percent, would have the highest educational level. Thus, one could create a distribution of those on welfare by education, work experience, length of time on welfare, and so on. Not surprisingly, those women at the lower end of the distribution of skill levels and education are likely to be long-term welfare recipients, and those women on welfare at the upper end of this distribution are likely to be short-term recipients.

Zill et al. (1991) hypothesize that welfare-to-work programs will have the most impact on the second 25 percent (quartile) of women. Their reasoning is that the top quartile already possess average to above-average skills and a fair amount of job experience. These are the women likely to have a very short spell on welfare; they would be likely to find stable employment with or without training assistance. Conversely, the poorest half of the welfare distribution have very low skills levels, little employment experience, and strong feelings of helplessness. It is difficult to make significant improvements in the income levels of these participants or to produce large reductions in the welfare dependency of this group. Hence, they argue that the second quartile is most likely to respond to training by increasing earning levels and leaving welfare.

Though the above authors argue for targeting those groups who, as a result of training programs, are most likely to generate significant welfare savings and raise their income levels above the poverty line, David Ellwood (1988) argues against extensive targeting. He believes that young mothers are already "isolated from the so-called mainstream" and that targeting would increase their sense of isolation by stigmatizing those it targets and removing the role models (women who stay on welfare for a short period of time) from influencing the longer-term recipients. He also points out that there is very little evidence available on whether targeting actually works well and that these targeting types of problems can be quite expensive.

The main objective of this particular training project is to train low-income women to provide quality child care positions. Society will benefit through additional quality child care services, and the women will benefit through their new employment and through learning child care and parenting skills that will improve their parenting of their own children, thereby also improving their children's well-being. A secondary objective reflects the goals of the Family Support Act to help long-term welfare recipients become independent and self-sufficient. Our hope is that this training program will help the women we train become economically self-sufficient. Yet another objective is that of keeping training costs down.

It is worth noting that there are trade-offs inherent in trying to achieve all three of the goals mentioned above. For instance, targeting women with no high school education (the long-term recipients) may lead to more potential welfare savings by the government. But this could necessitate an expensive training program if training those with little education would require teaching basic math and verbal skills before teaching how to provide quality child care. Given these trade-offs, we have defined our main objective as training women to provide quality child care, with the other goals being secondary and supplementary.

What are quality child care services? How will we know that the women we train will be able to provide quality child care? One way is to train women who have characteristics similar to those of the average care provider in the child care industry. For instance, the average regulated family day care provider in 1990 had an educational level of one year of college, and teachers in child care centers were even more highly educated with 41 percent of them having at least four years of education past high school. Eighty-four percent of teachers had more education than a high school diploma, and only 1 percent did not have a high school diploma. Regulated home-based care providers had approximately seven years of experience (in 1990) with 79 percent having some child-related training. Most center teachers and regulated family day care providers were white. Teachers in centers were age thirty-six on average, and regulated family day care providers were age forty on average. Approximately three-fourths of center teachers and regulated family day care providers were married (Kisker, Hofferth, & Phillips, 1991).

The average child care teacher/provider, then, has characteristics very different from those of the average low-income woman. For instance, she is more educated and more likely to be married. Hence, in order to best achieve our quality child care objective, we may wish to consider targeting on the basis of two variables, income and education. Basing our plan on this analysis of the economic literature, we propose to provide child care training to poor women with children (including women with children on welfare) who have at least a high school degree or GED equivalent. That is, all mothers who are either receiving welfare benefits or have a family/household income level below the poverty line will be eligible provided they have a high school diploma or a GED equivalent. This will make more than half of the women on AFDC eligible as well as about half of the women that the Family Support Act would classify as long-term dependents. Sixty-five percent of all AFDC mothers have an educational level of at least a high school diploma or a GED, and 57 percent of long-term recipients also have at least a GED or a high school diploma (Zill et al., 1991).

Note that this group does not include the "worst-off" women on welfare, because their lack of basic skills would require too much remedial training in order to fulfill our goal of providing quality child care. Quality child care involves such activities as reading to children, which requires some mastery of basic skills. Training women with high school diplomas implies that our group of trainees will be close to the basic skill level of the average child care teacher. Hence, the goal of providing quality child care should be fulfilled. Although we are targeting a specific group, it is a broad one and should minimize any possible stigma effects from isolating particular groups. The women we choose to train will be positive role models. We are targeting an achievement characteristic, a completed high school education, and this should demonstrate to other low-income women the advantages of completing high school.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Any training program for adults must have as its pedagogical base an understanding of basic theories of adult development. The literature is particularly extensive, preventing this brief summary from addressing all the theories, models, and studies germane to our topic. In the analysis below, we have focused our attention on explicating three philosophical orientations that frame various approaches to development. Once both the orientations and the approaches to development are presented, we will extract particular themes that offer insights into the development of low-income women that may be helpful in shaping the training/parenting program.

DEFINING DEVELOPMENT

The study of human development has a long tradition, dating back to 500 B.C. when Confucius noted that each decade between the ages of thirty and seventy is marked by different patterns of development. Religious texts, such as the Talmud and Hindu scriptures, have discussed stages of adult development as well. Even Shakespeare wrote about this phenomenon in As You Like It. Despite this long and venerable history, systematic scholarly attention began only recently, gaining momentum in the 1960s. Indeed, it has been noted that many of the major studies in the field have been published since the 1970s (Merriam, 1984).

One might think that, given this flurry of activity, the scientific community had come to some agreement about the definition of and approach to adult development. It seems, however, that definitional clarity remains absent, and rather than achieving intellectual congruity on approach, new models and approaches increasingly proliferate. Part of the dilemma in defining development is that it is not an empirical construct, but rather a theoretical one that is framed by differing subjective philosophical and theoretical beliefs about the nature of the world and human life.

However, despite their differing world views, behaviorists, environmentalists, and developmentalists do agree on some basic principles regarding development in general. Transcending these different theoretical orientations, scientists interested in development generally agree that development involves systematic change that occurs over time. The temporal component suggests that as these changes occur, they do so in succession and that later changes are influenced by earlier ones, suggesting that development has a cumulative aspect. Most generally, then, the concept of development implies systematic and successive changes that occur over time.

But beyond this basic construct, there is little agreement regarding the order or sequence of such changes, the duration of time between changes, or the purposes or motivation for change. Perhaps the most profound difference among theories of adult development stems from differing philosophical orientations. Because they differ and because they so dramatically influence approaches to development, it is important to pause--however briefly--and discuss mechanistic, organismic, and contextual orientations.

PHILOSOPHIC ORIENTATIONS

The Mechanistic Orientation

Advocates of this philosophy tend to see psychology through the disciplines of physics and chemistry--that is to say, by understanding the rules by which atoms and molecules function, we can understand the components of the natural world. Natural events have physical causes that can be systematically understood. When this orientation is translated to psychology, the human is seen as comparatively passive, induced to action or response when stimulated. Changes result not from phenomena intrinsic to the individual but as a result of alterations in stimuli that impinge upon the individual. Behavioral development is explained in terms of operant conditioning. Development is seen as a change of elements in the rather predictable behavioral repertoire, rather than as the result of individual variation. This reductionist orientation posits that the potential for change, induced by later experiences, is quite limited.

The Organismic Orientation

The organismic philosophy, in contrast, sees change as the necessary ingredient of human life. It takes as its metaphor the organism--and suggests that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Organisms are organized systems that cannot be understood by discerning individual components. Moreover, when components combine, they produce a new level of complexity that is qualitatively different than what existed previously. Translating this orientation into psychology, the individual is seen as inherently active (as opposed to reactive) as a constructor of environments and as a catalyst for change. When change occurs, fundamentally new and distinct meanings emerge. Within this orientation, stages of development emerge that are characterized by new structures and new qualitative levels of organization. Potential for growth in this orientation is not capped.

The Contextual Orientation

In contrast to the above orientations that seem to reflect polar opposite conceptions, the contextual orientation suggests that development may be more individualistic and more imbedded in the individual's life events and circumstances. It envisions change as a natural process, with phenomena being dynamic--the result of interactions between structural and functional properties. The contextual orientation sees the organism in "relation" and in "transaction." And it is the combination of these two properties that permits change and appropriate adaptation and shaping of development.

The Orientations: Their Limitations, Distinctiveness, and Utility

Though these orientations are posited as three distinct entities, theorists have suggested that they may overlap, particularly the latter two. Indeed, "developmental contextualism" has been offered as a compromise between the organismic and contextual orientations (Lerner, 1986). As with the individual orientations, there are limitations to the compromise, revolving around definition, measurement, and empirical use. Regardless of the precise orientations or combinations of orientations that influence scientists and theorists, it is critical to understand that none can be evaluated regarding their correctness, and none fully addresses the spectrum of the questions that need to be asked. Their inclusion in this discussion is to suggest that they are critical in shaping which questions are asked, the nature of the answers afforded, and the lens through which specific approaches to development are formulated.

APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Though perspectives differ, generally there are three conceptions of development that have been advanced by theoreticians: the stage theory approach; the differential approach; and the ipsative approach. In developmental psychology, considerably more attention has been devoted to the stage theory approach. Reflecting this orientation, this discussion will focus on stage theory, followed by an overview of differential and ipsative approaches.

Developmental Stage Theory

Developmental stage theory is the nomenclature used to describe theories and approaches used by psychologists to suggest that all people pass through a series of qualitatively different levels (stages) of development and that the sequence is invariant. Though developmental stage theorists investigate different domains of development (cognitive, social, moral), they investigate developmental patterns that adhere through the life cycle. Though developmental stage theory is predicated on a commitment to an organismic philosophy of science, different theorists attach different time spans to each phase; they debate how to define different stages; they posit different interpretations of how transitions between stages emerge; and they ponder the structure of final stages of development.

Among the most notable representatives of developmental stage theory are Piaget, Kohlberg, and Freud. Though each focuses on different aspects of the developing person--cognitive development (Piaget), moral development (Kohlberg), psychosexual development (Freud)--they concur that people pass through specified stages in an invariant sequence. They also acknowledge that portions of development are distinct from one another, with different attributes arising from the interaction of the organism's characteristics and the features of an individual's experience.

Piaget offers an account of cognitive development that reflects this organism-environmental interaction. Disequilibrium caused by these interactions precipitates change and development. Like other stage theorists, Piaget doesn't believe that individuals make rapid changes from one stage to another, but posits that transitions are gradual. Similarly, Kohlberg's theories of moral development involve balance and gradual transition. Kohlberg's work integrates the individual orientation of a single organism with others in the individual's environment. Like Piaget, Kohlberg's suggest stages that reflect different levels of developmental integration.

Freud's work has had an overwhelming social impact, leaving legacies in contemporary sociology, psychology, anthropology, linguistics, literature, the arts, and education. Though his work is too extensive to document in this brief review, suffice it to say that Freud is regarded as a stage theorist for his enunciation of his stages of psychosexual development. His work has helped clarify clinical training and provide insights into the clinician-patient relationship that some suggest have merit for the teacher-student relationship (Tennant, 1988). Not without its critics, Freud's work nevertheless helped solidify psychological understandings of psychic energy specifically and of stage theory generally.

Differential Approach

The main focus of the differential approach is to discern how individuals become sorted into subgroups over the course of their development. Such sorting is usually based on types of attributes: status attributes and behavioral attributes. Inquiry in this approach examines how behavioral attributes (aggression-passivity) and status attributes (age, gender) lead to differentiated behavior. Typically, differential scholars are more interested in discerning the dimensions of individual differences in development than are stage theorists, though some theorists incorporate both developmental stage and differential theories. Erikson is an example.

Known primarily as a developmental stage theorist, Erik Erikson (1950) identified eight periods of psychological growth that correspond to biological development. He theorized that evolving adults pass through the stages of psychosocial development in a linear progression and that the stages represent a series of crises or issues that an individual must deal with from birth to death. Within these stages, Erikson adopted a differential approach by suggesting that within each stage, individuals fall along a stage-specific differential dimension.

Ipsative Approach

Both the developmental stage theorists and the differentialists compare individuals to other people. In contrast, the ipsative approach focuses on the comparison of an individual to himself or herself. The goal of this line of research is to discover differences within individuals and to account for such differences over time. The theory is predicated on the understanding that variables that provide the basis for human functioning aggregate in individuals in unique ways. Consequently, constructs of normative behavior may have no direct meaning for a given individual's functioning.

The ipsative approach has been helpful in cautioning theorists and practitioners to maintain profound respect for individual variation. Indeed, many who would not label themselves full-fledged advocates of the ipsative approach have incorporated some of the principles into their work. This approach has also been helpful in reinforcing the importance of interactionist perspectives, primarily those that demand theoretical linkages between an individual's behavior and his or her environment.

ALTERNATE CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

Although the three-pronged conceptualization stated above has much heuristic appeal and is generally acknowledged in the developmental literature, it is not the only approach to understanding theories of development and indeed may partially mask important ideological differences. Subtly apparent in these theories is a tension between those that take the person and those that take the environment as the primary point of departure. Those theories that take the person as the primary point of departure tend to explain adult development in terms of the internal make-up of the individual. The underlying assumption in this line of theory is that a person has an integrity and develops comparatively independent of the social and cultural contexts that embrace him. In contrast, those who accord primacy to the environmental orientation explain development in terms of external forces that impinge on the individual. In this view, the individual has less control and is understood more as a product of an external dynamic than as a product of intrinsic forces. An obvious oversimplification, such a dichotomy is often resolved by regarding development as a dialectical process, where there is a dialectic between the developing person and the changing society. In this view the individual is seen as both creating and being created by her environment.

Reflecting this line of thinking, recent analyses have suggested a reclassification of contemporary theories into two groups--stage theories and life cycle theories (Cross, 1981; Peck, 1986). Each of these theories clearly reflects the dialectic, but they each fall at different points on the dialectical continuum, with stage theory tilting slightly more toward the individual and phase theory more toward environmental factors. For example, whereas stage theorists posit that the individual's life is defined by continuous growth through stages of development, life cycle theorists stress that the timing of life events is linked not necessarily to chronological age but to other more complex factors (Neugarten, 1964, 1968, 1976, 1979). Neugarten (1976) suggests that to study a life cycle, one must examine the "psychology of timing" rather than the events themselves. If the timing deviates from what is normative, if it is "off-time" (e.g., widowed in young adulthood), the likelihood of trauma is enhanced.

Challenging the purist approach to stage theory, Neugarten (1976) suggests that one is mistaken if one describes adult development as an invariant sequence of stages. Affirming this approach, Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers (1983) studied three hundred women between the ages of thirty and fifty-five and found that chronological age failed to correlate with any measures of well-being. The study also challenged life cycle theory because it demonstrated that the women's lives were dominated by a theme of achievement and goals that involved work, career, and education, regardless of age or phase.

Other theorists have raised alternative conceptual approaches to the study of development (Baltes & Schaie, 1973; Cross, 1981). Some question the real source of change in adulthood, and others consider whether individuals become qualitatively different within themselves or remain quantitatively more or less the same. Neugarten (1964) in addressing the extent to which people change qualitatively, notes that intrapsychic processes shift from active to passive mastery. Moreover, a shift in the perspective of sex roles occurs (women become more assertive and men become more nurturing). Sheehy (1976) and Gould (1972) have found similar changes in an adult's middle years.

Given that adult development is a theoretical rather than an empirical construct, there exists a myriad of conceptualizations that seem to raise more issues than they clarify. Rubin (1981) realized this and sent out a clear warning. He reminds us that to assess whether personality changes as one ages, a researcher must first decide which dimension of personality he or she is interested in studying and which methodology will be used to study that dimension. Whether one accepts stage or life cycle theory is less significant than realizing that as theories of adult development proliferate, practical investigation into adult development must be more circumspect.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TRAINING/PARENTING PROGRAM

Despite the richness of the literature on development, there are some limitations when one attempts to apply such theories to women in general and to low-income women in particular.

Gender Issues

It has been suggested that the experience of women is not well represented or adequately explained by most extant models of adult development. Gilligan (1982) has openly challenged whether male-dominated models can be generalized to women. She suggests that because females typically have same-gender individuals as their primary caregivers and males do not, the male experience of development is built on the perception of contrast and separateness and the identity of females is built on perceptions of sameness and attachment. Gilligan (1982) describes how women do not experience Erikson's concepts of intimacy and generativity as separate stages but as simultaneous experiences. She posits that women are more relationship-oriented than men, and that male-oriented developmental models often fail to acknowledge the importance of such attachments for women. Gaining widespread acceptance, Gilligan's analysis regarding the importance of female attachment needs to be considered as the training/parenting program is developed.

Others have also challenged the extent to which stage theories of development can be applied to women. Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga (1975) found large differences in the ways men and women coped with life events, even though they were at the same stage of life. Weathersby and Tarule (1980) found that women may confront a special developmental task that requires that they balance and integrate their family cycle with their career cycle.

Such sentiments found popular expression with the publication of Sheehy's Passages (1976). In this book, she identified six stages of development wherein the experiences are unique to women (1976). During the years eighteen to twenty-one ("Pulling Up Roots"), Sheehy argues, men move out from their families and establish their own identities, but women are often frustrated because believe that their identity is defined through a man or that they must choose between career and family. During the "Trying Twenties" (ages twenty-two to twenty-eight), all adults set goals and make decisions that guide their future. Sheehy postulates that during this stage women may experience conflicting drives between a family orientation and a need for success. The lack of female role models is also a problem at this stage. At "Catch 30" (ages twenty-eight to thirty-two), both men and women are restless and reflective. Both reevaluate their earlier commitments. Life stabilizes for women during the "Rooting and Extending" stage (ages thirty-two to thirty-five), and they can assume one of several patterns. Their behavior is concentrated (providing only for their families), conflicted (choosing between love and work), or integrated (trying to combine family and work). The ages thirty-five to forty-five are called the "Deadline Decade." Realizing that life is finite, adults experience intense periods of introspection, questioning, and reexamination of goals and values during this period. Sheehy believes that women experience this crisis earlier than men. Forty-five to fifty is the period of "Renewal or Resignation." If an individual has been able to set realistic goals and expectations in a previous period, this stage will be stable and satisfying. If not, then this period is marked by a sense of resignation and dissatisfaction (Sheehy, 1976).

Sheehy's work has direct application to our understanding of how the development of women can be applied to the organization of programs to train them. She suggests that the priorities and goals established in earlier stages of development influence the patterns in the adult lives of both men and women. In addition, adults continue to develop and grow throughout their lives and frequently seek assistance in dealing with these changes. This theory can be directly applied to the program we suggest if we assess each trainee and define how we can help her continue to develop and grow.

Sheehy suggests that there are differences between the sexes in the patterns of growth that must be considered. For women particularly, we know that female children demonstrate high levels of achievement during childhood. Yet, by adolescence, achievement behavior is inhibited. Others have enhanced this understanding by suggesting that women who do achieve attribute their accomplishments to external factors such as luck rather than their internal ability (Lord, Wyman, Scott, & McLoughlin, 1979).

Class Issues

Much of the literature on adult development accords insufficient attention to adult class differences, and most studies that do address them focus on differences in development patterns between the middle and upper middle classes rather than other socioeconomic or ethnic groups (Merriam, 1984). Some literature comparing middle-class and disadvantaged groups suggests that this is a fertile domain for inquiry. For example, Rubin (1976), conducting such an analysis, found that blue-collar adult couples and middle-class couples perceive life very differently. Such analyses, though interesting, need to be augmented by a rich literature that addresses adult development across and within classes and cultures.

Hampered by this lack of data, our work will be conceptualized to incorporate stage theory hypotheses as they relate to low-income women. Though not the primary goal of our inquiry, constructs generated from this review suggest that such investigation may be helpful in furthering our understanding of the development of low-income women.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIES OF ADULT LEARNING

Having examined some of the theories of adult development, we now turn our attention to the relationship between adult development and adult learning, with the goal of understanding how developmental theories have been used to understand the theory and improve the practice of adult learning. Though we will focus this analysis on the implications for low-income women, we will begin with a more general discussion because, analogous to the adult development literature, there are gender limitations in the learning theory literature as well.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADULT DEVELOPMENT AND ADULT LEARNING

Those involved in the adult education realm have repeatedly turned to psychology as the foundation discipline for their work. Part of the interest in psychology emanates from the natural issues raised in adult education: what motivates students to learn; how teacher-student interactions mediate the course of learning; how educators predict and explain successful participation in learning activities. Moreover, because adult learning generally embraces a commitment to lifelong learning, understanding how adults change and develop is central to that mission.

Such a desire to use psychological theory is enhanced by the complexity and longevity of adult lives. Understanding different patterns of development across social circumstance has been regarded as an important foundation for adult education theory and practice. Recognizing that adults do not exist in a social vacuum, adult educators are sensitive to changes in demographic patterns over time, to the sexual division of labor, and to ages of retirement. To accommodate the changing needs of adults, they advocate that educational opportunities be distributed in a recurring way so as not to disadvantage any group at any point in time.

Further, adult educators recognize that, unlike children, adults carry out multiple roles concurrently, which suggests that their learning may differ according to the role area focus of the learning. For example, family, community, breadwinner, and occupational roles may each demand different approaches to learning and may conjure different theories of development. Knox (1979) contends that different life events--for example, the birth of a child--may heighten adult readiness to learn. Adult educators must therefore not only understand the reality of episodic adult development, but feel a particular responsibility to tailor institutional marketing and instruction to the unique developmental needs and time frames of adult learners.

THEORIES OF ADULT LEARNING

Child and Adult Learning: Similarities and Differences

The process of learning was systematically examined in the late 1880s with the Ebbinghaus studies of memory (Cross, 1981). These studies, like those of James, Dewey, Thorndike, Watson, Skinner, Gagne, Bruner, and Piaget that followed, concentrated on learning in early childhood (Cross, 1981). Because there has been considerable debate regarding the generalizability of child learning to adult learning, the fields are usually treated somewhat separately in the literature. The rationale for such separation is predicated on understandings related to differences in child and adult characteristics, to differences in the experiential levels of children and adults, and to their different motivations for learning.

Those who attribute differences between child and adult learning to characterological differences contrast the natural dependence of children with the independence of adults. Whereas children grow from dependence to independence, adults who find themselves in conventional learning situations often experience the reverse. Though functionally independent in the real world, they are asked to become dependent as learners. Recognizing adult need for independence, many adult learning theories structure opportunities for self-directed learning as hallmarks of their efforts.

Differences in experiential levels of children and adults provide the basis for a second rationale of learning differences. This line of thinking suggests that adults have accumulated more experiences that can serve as the base for rich learning. Children, because they have lived and experienced less, begin with a different frame. This value-added experience not only enriches adult learning options, but also influences the orientation of the learner. Laden with experience, adults approach learning with a more problem-centered orientation. Children, bereft of such experience, have a subject-oriented approach. Implicit in this assumption is the understanding that adults need to have their learnings applied immediately, whereas children have the luxury of the postponement of direct application. The third closely allied rationale offered for differences in child and adult learning suggests that the motivation for learning is widely disparate. In children, learning is motivated by biological development and academic pressure; in adults, learning is motivated by the need to perform social roles. This orientation seems to have greater implications for the content than the process of instruction, yet it is considered an important distinguishing variable between child and adult learning.

Adult Learning and Andragogy

A proponent of adult learning as discrete from child learning, Knowles (1980) developed the concept of andragogy, the best known theory of adult learning (Merriam, 1987). Andragogy is defined as the "art and science of helping adults learn" and is distinguished from pedagogy, which focuses on child learning. Amplifying the above rationales for differences between child and adult learners, Knowles based his construct of andragogy on the following four assumptions. First, adult learning is motivated by an individual's need to learn a new task or make a specific decision. Adults want to acquire information that will be usable and have immediate application. Second, adult experiences provide a foundation for gaining additional knowledge. Adults learn by relating new information to their past experiences and what they know from those experiences. Third, by adulthood, individuals have developed a view of self that is not dependent on others for direction. Fourth, the primary role in life, which adults must attend to first, is not one that involves learning. Adults often address this secondary role with limited energy and time.

Using these assumptions as starting points, Knowles specifies the skills, processes, and techniques associated with adult learning. Key to such practice is the assumption of responsibility for planning their learning by the adults themselves. Such an approach, termed self-directed learning, has been defined as "deliberate learning in which the person's primary intention is to gain certain definite knowledge or skills" (Cross, 1981). To maximize the utility of self-directed learning, Knowles advances the use of contracts. In this approach, the learner and an adviser jointly create a contract that specifies goals, strategies, learning activities, and resources.

Though the contract aspect of Knowles's work has been controversial, his contributions to the adult learning field have been noteworthy. He has helped refocus attention to the adult as learner and has called into question the utility of conventional learning strategies for adults. Coupled with theoretical work previously examined, Knowles's theories have led to a body of empirical studies about self-directed adult learning. For example, Penland (1977) divided the topics of self-directed learning into three categories: (1) formal topics, (2) practical topics, and (3) intraself topics. Penland found that three quarters of all learners were pragmatic, tackling practical topics. Thus, adults are more apt to enter educational settings with the hope of solving a problem. Tough (1979, 1982) defined the components of adult learning, and Guglielmino and Guglielmino (1982) developed a readiness scale for self-directed learning. Underscoring the importance of this line of inquiry, Davenport and Davenport (1985) suggest that even more empirical studies will be generated as a result of this catalytic theory.

But, consistent with criticisms of the adult development literature, not all scholars have accepted the validity of andragogy as a ground-breaking theory or of contracts as an acceptable strategy. Hartee (1984, p. 205) questions whether andragogy (1) is a theory of learning or a theory of teaching, (2) is a concept that applies to children as well as adults, and (3) is a theory or just principles of good practice. Brookfield (1986, p. 98) also suggests that andragogy is not a theory but only a set of principles. More specifically, concern exists that studies of self-directed learning have been too narrowly constructed and not inclusive across gender and class (Brookfield, 1985).

Adult Learning and Adult Development

Thus far, we have focused primarily on a unidirectional flow, stressing the importance of adult development for adult learning. To be certain, there is reciprocity of influence from adult learning to adult development. Theorists who have written about adult learning (Merriam, 1984; Mezirow, 1978; Freire, 1970a; Knox, 1977) have also demonstrated that education can directly affect the development of adults. Indeed, current writing supports the inextricable link of adult development and adult learning.

Supporting such linkages, Mezirow (1978) asserts that through adult learning, existing knowledge is transformed into a new perspective that leads to new behavior. He (1981) suggests that learning helps individuals gain new perspectives and thus facilitates an emancipation that propels the individual into different paths of action. Freire (1970b) demonstrated that through education, the underprivileged can develop feelings of personal empowerment. From this perspective, education can facilitate a change of one's view of self, and ultimately, as Lasker and Moore (1980) noted, education can create the reversal of self-fulfilling prophecies.

More subtle than obvious changes in life circumstances, education has been thought to influence development though its impact on one's consciousness. Freire (1970a) suggests that the goal of education is to move the individual from the lowest level, where there is no comprehension of the forces behind one's life, to the highest level, where one is critically aware of all contributions. Interestingly, to accomplish this, Freire, agreeing with some of Knowles's strategies, suggests a change in the relationship between student and teacher: from instructor-pupil to co-investigators for change.

THE PRACTICE OF ADULT LEARNING

Although it is helpful to understand different theories of adult learning and their links to developmental theory, it is necessary to turn to the practice of adult learning in order to better understand the factors that influence it. Explored below, the first set of factors are based on the life situations of adults; the second focus on internal factors that affect adults as learners.

The Life Situations of Adults

As has been suggested earlier, a body of literature emphasizes that adult learning is profoundly affected by adults' life situations. Because adulthood is a period during which the individual must balance multiple demands, the energy available to invest in systematic adult learning is limited. To foster an understanding of this reality, McClusky developed the Theory of Margin. He posits that the energy that remains after one meets the challenges of life is the "margin in life" (1970, p. 83), and he uses this theory to explain the dynamics of learning in adults. Because learning requires expending energy, individuals, as they move through the successive stages of the life cycle, need to evaluate the significance of expending energy in learning. If new knowledge or new skills are desired, then adults must relinquish unessential responsibilities and devote their margin of energy to learning. Merriam (1987) notes that this theory has been most successfully applied to middle-aged and older adults.

Underscoring the real-needs orientation of the adult learner, Knox (1980) developed the proficiency theory, suggesting that adults are motivated to learn when they experience a discrepancy between their current and desired levels of proficiency. Adults learn because their level of personal development does not meet needs created by transactions in the world. In Knox's view, adult learning is used to enhance proficiency and thereby improve the adult's life situation.

The instructional implications of learning for adult life enhancement have been examined by Schaie and Parr (1981). They suggest that because conventional learning emphasizes acquisition rather than application, its methods are not well suited to older learners. Moreover, because learners in different phases of the life cycles have different rationales for learning--youths wish to acquire knowledge, young adults seek achievement, middle age is a time of responsibility, and old age is a time of reintegration--an instructional approach should expand integration, interpretation, and application of material. Responsibility and accuracy, rather than quickness, should be emphasized for adult learners. Because the life situation so fundamentally affects adult learning, all such programs, including that which we propose, must orient the methods and contents of a curriculum toward the audience and their current phase in life.

Internal Factors Affecting Adults as Learners

Of the many factors affecting adult learning, three that are particularly germane to the learning of low-income women will be examined here -- motivation, chronological age, and learning style.

Motivation

Motivation for learning has been examined carefully in the literature. One of the most detailed explications was offered by Zemke and Zemke (1981) who identified reasons adults are motivated to learn. Their research showed that adults generally seek out learning experiences with practical applications for coping with crises or life-change events. Maintaining or increasing one's sense of self-esteem and pleasure is a strong secondary motivator for learning. Finally, adults prefer that their learning be problem-oriented, personalized, and accepting of their need for self-direction and personal responsibility.

Havighurst (1953), who proposed a framework to explain adult development, suggests that all adults have to complete tasks occasioned by social expectations and personal values. He argues that adults are motivated to achieve these tasks differently, but when they are so motivated, when the "teachable moment" occurs, learning is optimized. For Havighurst, timing is an essential component of motivation. For example, the time to teach a mother about child development is when she is expecting or raising a child (Cross, 1981).

The motivational theories discussed thus far reach beyond low-income women. Havighurst's theories have been applied to education broadly while Zemke and Zemke apply to all adults. The motivational dynamics of disadvantaged women, though not examined abundantly, were addressed by Hinman and Bolton (1980) who conducted psychometric tests and structured interviews with 205 disadvantaged women. Interestingly, while the women ranked family as their most important concern, suggesting the significance of family as motivator, the group was resigned and lethargic, with depressed motivation. To a great measure, they lacked the desire for self-realization and concern about their future. They did evidence positive attitudes about employment, yet they were disenchanted with pursuing careers. Such an analysis suggests that though motivational theory may be codified and well understood for the population at large, its implications for the teaching of, and learning by, low-income women remain underdeveloped.

Chronological Age

The literature also suggests that chronological age can have a profound effect on learning. Since the research shows that as people age, they are less effective in generating their own associations between stored and incoming material, Cross (1981) suggests that older learners need help in making associations about the relevance of what they are learning. Older adults are more task-oriented than younger learners and are concerned with "doing the job right." Though an experienced adult may act with more mastery than a younger person (who may have to try several approaches to a task), older adults may be more reluctant to explore new approaches. Instead they may rely on strategies that have been effective for them in the past, regardless of their application to current situations.

The interaction of chronological age and speed of learning has been discussed in the literature, with the acknowledgment that, on average, older learners perceive things more slowly than their younger counterparts. However, on tasks where speed is a factor, older adults usually compensate for a lack of quickness with an increased attention to accuracy (Cross, 1981). Though the time required for learning new things may increase with age, most adults in their forties and fifties can learn as effectively as they did in their twenties and thirties.

Learning Styles

Learning style refers to an "individual's characteristic and consistent approach to organizing and processing information" (Tennant, 1988, p. 89). It is a construct of enormous appeal to adult educators because it acknowledges individual differences without according negative attributes to how individuals process information. Inherently egalitarian, the concept suggests that individuals process information in ways that are most meaningful to them and that individual variations are to be expected and valued. Though such a construct suggests a highly idiosyncratic approach to learning, theorists have attempted to codify groups of learning styles. For example, Messick (1978) identified nineteen types of learning styles; Squires (1981) suggests that learning style types are bipolar--converger or diverger--along a number of continua.

Whatever the precise number, learning style theories have gained wide acceptance. One notable theory has been advanced by Witkin who observed that the perceptual judgments of some individuals are profoundly and consistently affected by context, whereas for others, context has little or no influence. Witkin's theories (1978), grounded in scientific experimentation, have contributed the theory of field dependence and field independence. A field-dependent individual has difficulty separating the parts from the whole; the field-independent person can do so with greater ease. Field independence is the extent to which one is able to disengage items from an organized context and is sometimes considered a proxy for one's analytic and abstract thinking ability.

Learning style theories assume particular importance for practice because each suggests alternate approaches to instruction. It has been postulated that the ideal learning situation will discern an individual's learning style and match instructional approaches to it, with some suggesting that the styles of teachers and learners should be matched. There are counterclaims regarding such a view. Advocates of mismatching feel that a precise match of style to learner minimizes the dissonance necessary for effective learning (Tennant, 1988). Further, if education is to broaden the individual's capacities, then tailoring such matches delimits the value of the educative experience. Little definitive research has addressed the "match or mismatch" question, but there is a growing awareness that cultural differentiation demands sensitivity to learning style as a critical variant in instruction. Though matching may not always be necessary between teacher and student, matching between learning style and learner, particularly for populations who have experienced difficulty learning in the conventional mode, should be seriously considered.

In conclusion, we have seen that curricula may need to be developed specifically for adults and that the ability to learn may be affected by several factors. Programs for adults need to help individuals understand themselves as learners. They need to use a variety of learning modalities and create environments where diversity of learners and learning styles can thrive. Finally, this analysis suggests that a realignment in the conventional teacher-learner relationship will be necessary to maximize adult learning. Such a realignment demands rethinking egalitarian collaborative relationships among adults as the cornerstone of effective learning.

CHAPTER 4

ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING

From the statistics reviewed in Chapter 1, we find that of those expected to participate in the proposed training/parenting program, all will be poor and many will have begun parenthood as teenagers. Consequently, rather than limiting our analysis to adult development, we now turn to an examination of normal adolescent development and, equally important, an analysis of how normal development is affected by poverty and teen parenthood. After reviewing adolescent development, this chapter focuses attention on female adolescent development and teen motherhood. The factors leading to teen pregnancy and the effects on development are considered. Several programs that have been effective in contributing to positive outcomes for teen parents and their children are also reviewed.

TASKS IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Scholars of adolescence have conceptualized the transformations characteristic of this period of life in terms of a number of developmental tasks that every society must make sure its members accomplish in their transition from childhood to adulthood (Erikson, 1968). The tasks of adolescence include developing an individual identity, separating from parents, developing a sex-role identity, becoming sexually active, and learning social skills. In a given society, the exact content of the tasks and their timetable will vary according to cultural patterns and the nature of the social structure.

All adolescents have basic human needs that must be met if they are to negotiate safe passage to adulthood. Among these are the need to have caring relationships with adults, to receive guidance in facing sometimes overwhelming challenges, to be a valued member of a constructive peer group, to become a socially competent individual who has the skills to cope successfully with everyday life, and to believe in a promising future with real opportunities.

For most middle-class children, adolescence is now so prolonged that it can be subdivided into early, middle, and late substages. Early adolescence, encompassing the biological changes of puberty and new interest in the opposite sex, extends from ages ten through fourteen. Middle adolescence, ages fifteen through seventeen, is a time of increasing autonomy and the discovery of self, leading to a clear identity formation. Late adolescence, ages eighteen and up, occurs for those who, because of educational goals and other social factors, delay their entry into adult roles. What is important to remember is that adolescents are not a monolithic group. In each of these age groups, adolescents show as much variability in their backgrounds, life experiences, values, and aspirations as do adults. Not only do individuals of the same age differ enormously in their personalities, talents, growth patterns, and coping skills, but the twelve-year-old has little in common with the nineteen-year-old. Early adolescents are barely out of childhood; late adolescents are almost adults.

Many youths move from childhood into adult roles as young as age fifteen or sixteen, particularly if they are from low-income or working-class families. Teenage girls who marry or have children also risk early foreclosure of opportunity. For most youngsters, adolescence is a protracted period of search and discovery to sort out who they are and what they will do with their lives. A minority of teens never achieve emotional maturity but remain in a perpetual state of inner conflict, subject to depression or eating disorders or acting out their problems through delinquency.

The search for self defines one of the major dramas of adolescence. Typically during early adolescence, young people try out various types of self-definition. Among early adolescents, the cognitive shift from concrete thought to abstract reasoning is also accompanied by a shift from concrete self-definition to more abstract definitions of their various selves. By late adolescence, the cognitive level is reached that permits the individual to integrate multiple self-concepts into a realistic and internalized sense of self, which forms the basis for further identity development. The failure to move from concrete to abstract integrated self-concepts can result in a number of psychological risks. Early or middle adolescence is also a time when many young persons begin to experience a decline in self-esteem, which reaches its low point around the ages of thirteen and fourteen. Many girls do not recover these losses in self-esteem during the high school years, and the educational failure that some girls experience can further damage self-esteem.

Many youths successfully negotiate the adolescent years despite the odds that defeat others. For some, adversity appears to have a positive effect, making them capable of coping with and overcoming obstacles. For most adolescents, effective coping seems to require three types of protective factors: family environments, support networks, and certain personality characteristics. Even under less than ideal circumstances, the existence of one parent who has an affectionate, warm, supportive, and noncritical relationship with the child is conducive to stress resistance. Teens thrive developmentally in warm family environments where respect for individuality is combined with rule setting and discipline. Among poor children from inner cities, those who cope well usually have at least one significant positive adult role model, not necessarily the parent. The existence of additional caretakers and social supports is particularly important in single-parent households where resources are few. In Furstenberg's work on teen mothers (Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn & Morgan, 1987), the offspring of teen mothers fared better in their teen years when their mothers received family support during the early years of parenthood. Teen mothers' access to resources and their ability to manage the transition to parenthood mediated the conditions under which their children did or did not do well.

AN OVERVIEW OF FEMALE ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

The biopsychosocial development of female adolescents is receiving increasing attention from both empirical and clinical researchers (Brooks-Gunn & Petersen, 1983; Feldman & Elliott, 1990; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hanmer, 1990). Though this literature is growing, it suffers from the same caveats as those reviewed earlier--namely, that much of the research is restricted to middle-class whites, with little information available on the normal development of minority adolescents.

The Early Years

With this limitation in mind, it is also important to note that some of the literature traces its origins back to the development of very young children when gender differences are less pronounced. Preschool boys and girls use the terms boy and girl as labels, rather than as conceptual categories, with little sense of what each gender must do. Despite these observations, some research suggests that young boys are more rigidly committed to sex roles than girls (Thompson, 1975; Edwards & Ramsey, 1986; Lamb & Roopnarine, 1979). By the time children are six or seven, both girls and boys move towards greater conformity with sex stereotyped roles and by this age sex-segregated play is the norm (Perry & Bussey, 1989). During middle childhood, though there is some relaxation of sex-segregated behavior, children continue to prefer same sex groupings. Maccoby suggests that these sex-segregated "play groups constitute powerful socialization environments in which children acquire distinctive interaction skills adapted to same-sex partners.... distinctive patterns developed by the two sexes at this time have implications for same-sex and cross-sex relationships that individuals form as they enter adolescence and adulthood" (1990, p. 516).

Early adolescence is a time when more rigid conformity to gender roles becomes the norm. This period is one of significant transition for both sexes, but it is a particularly difficult time for girls. The movement from girl to woman is carried out in a society that idealizes feminine sexuality while assigning less valued roles to women. For girls, physical change, including menarche, is particularly noticeable, whereas boys of the same age are just entering puberty (Brooks-Gunn & Petersen, 1983). Early adolescence is also a time when same-sex relationships intensify more for girls than for boys.

It comes as no surprise that numerous studies report significant declines in girls' self-esteem and self-confidence as they move from childhood through adolescence. Even under ideal circumstances, girls as they mature become more conflicted about themselves, their responsibilities, and their opportunities (American Association of University Women, 1991; Gilligan et al., 1990; Harter, 1990). By the time girls reach high school, the patterns of declining self-esteem, negative body image, and depression that began in early adolescence appear to intensify. Many girls experience acute stress when faced with the conflicting demands to achieve and be successful in both the public and private domains. "Some girls choose to be successful in either the domestic or public sphere but not both" (Bush & Simmons, 1987, p. 209).

Antecedents of Teenage Pregnancy

Researchers have shown that girls react much more negatively than boys to the psychological and physiological aspects of puberty and are at higher risk for eating disorders, substance abuse, depression, suicide attempts, and dropping out of school. Dryfoos (1990) notes that a large number of reports have documented the interrelationships and overlap in high-risk behaviors, but no study has shown how the separate behaviors combine to interfere with adolescents' academic and career progress. What is known is that delinquency is associated with early sexual activity, early pregnancy, substance abuse, low grades, and dropping out. The number of risk behaviors is positively correlated to the severity of the resultant problems (Dryfoos, 1990, p. 105).

Low self-esteem is also linked to increased likelihood of early pregnancy, and in some instances this low self-esteem is caused by sexual abuse (Patton, 1981; Press, 1988). A Rand study (Abrahamse, Morrison, & Waite, 1988) suggests that one of the greatest inhibiting factors for not getting involved in early unwed childbearing, at every socioeconomic level and across race and ethnicity, is the individual teen's own awareness of what she would lose as a result of early motherhood--that is, future opportunity costs. These findings are confirmed in High School and Beyond survey data that found correlations between the lowest rates of becoming a teen mother among teens with high academic ability, upper-income, intact families. Not surprisingly, the highest rates were among low academic ability, minority girls from poor, female-headed families (Abrahamse et al., 1988). Dryfoos (1990) also cites a recent analysis of the High School and Beyond data that shows that many girls who become mothers drop out prior to pregnancy, with estimates ranging from 30 percent to 60 percent. Among the reasons given for dropping out were school-related reasons such as poor grades or dislike of school.

Among young women at greater risk of adolescent pregnancy, the willingness to consider having a child out of marriage was also found to be a good predictor of actual outcomes two years later. Among young women at highest risk, other characteristics that might influence pregnancy and childbearing are the school peer milieu, other "problem behaviors" such as drug and alcohol abuse (Dryfoos, 1990), disciplinary problems in school and absenteeism, degree of religious commitment, parental supervision, and parent-child communication. Moreover, the strength of these influences varies significantly across racial and ethnic groups. According to Dryfoos (1988), the agenda for pregnancy prevention has substantially broadened with recent efforts to strengthen teenagers' motivation, as well as their capacity, to avoid pregnancy.

Any analysis of the antecedents of teen pregnancy would be remiss not to mention their endemic societal and attitudinal accelerators. According to the findings of the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), what is really needed to prevent unintended teenage pregnancy is a revolution, a total restructuring of the way men and women perceive and relate to each other (Cusick, 1987). Sexism and sex-role stereotyping are so pervasive that they affect every facet of young girls' lives. According to Cusick, for some adolescents motherhood is the ultimate sex role and "an honorable escape from a race they cannot win" (p. 117). Several studies suggest that adolescents who get pregnant are more likely than other sexually active young women to have traditional sex-role orientations, a characteristic strongly correlated to lower socioeconomic status (Ireson, 1984). Studies that looked at the differences between pregnant and birth control-seeking/using adolescents found that the latter were less likely to hold traditional gender-based views of themselves (Jorgensen & Alexander, 1983) and were more likely to exhibit an internal locus of control (Philpps-Yonas, 1980; Blum & Resnick, 1982).

TEEN PREGNANCY, SCHOOL DROPOUT, AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

The pervasiveness and social costs of teen pregnancy and other social conditions are not to be minimized. In 1988, just under a half million (488,941) babies were born to women under age twenty in the United States (National Center for Health Statistics, 1988), giving the United States the highest rate of teenage childbearing in the Western industrialized world (Westoff, Cabot, & Foster, 1983). Though astonishingly high, overall the number and rate of births to teens under twenty continues a downward trend begun in 1975 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1988). However, in one group (fifteen- to seventeen-year-olds), there is a 10 percent increase in births, almost entirely among black and Hispanic teens (National Center for Health Statistics, 1988). Data from the National Survey of Family Growth suggest that one explanation for this increase is that the number of fifteen-year-olds with sexual experience increased from 17 percent in 1980 to 26 percent in 1988 (Centers for Disease Control, 1991). In addition to increasing rates of births among young women, there has been a dramatic increase in nonmarital births. In 1980, 52 percent of all births to women under age twenty were to married women; by 1988, this figure had dropped to 34 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1988).

As suggested in the first chapter, the public cost of families formed by teens is high. In 1989, the United States spent nearly $21.5 billion on AFDC, Medicaid, and food stamp benefits for families begun by teenage mothers (Moore, 1990). This amount is $1.7 billion higher than for 1988, owing partly to inflation but also to the increase in births to teens, especially among fifteen- to seventeen-year-olds.

But teen pregnancy is not the only social condition that affects adolescent development and learning. School completion rates vary among the population. In general, girls are more likely to complete high school and go on to college, regardless of race or ethnicity, than are boys. There are significant gender differences among dropout rates for black men and women, but such differences are not as marked for whites or Hispanics. Among Hispanics, however, there are considerable differences by national origin and gender, with Puerto Rican and Cuban-American girls more likely to drop out of school than males in these groups or than other Hispanic girls (McKenna & Ortiz, 1988; Washington & Newman, 1991; Weis, Farrar, & Petrie, 1989).

The causes of dropping out remain elusive and sometimes contradictory. The commonly held belief that young women drop out because they are pregnant reflects only part of the reality. At least 50 to 60 percent of female dropouts report leaving school for reasons other than pregnancy (Earle, Roach, & Fraser, 1987). Thirty-seven percent of the female dropouts compared to only 5 five percent of the male dropouts in a recent study cited family-related problems as the reason they left school (Dryfoos, 1990). For both girls and boys, dropping out of school may also be a matter of not liking school. Data from High School and Beyond show that 82 percent of girls cited a school-related reason such as poor grades or a dislike of school among the reasons they gave for leaving (Dryfoos, 1990). Repeating one or more grades in school is a strong predictor of school dropout for both sexes, although girls who have been held back leave school earlier than boys. One study reports that 92 percent of the female but only 22 percent of the male dropouts relate their decision to leave school to having been held back (Fine & Zane, 1989).

Low levels of school completion are of considerable concern, given the potential for long-term economic dependency among families begun by teen parents and the economic and developmental disadvantages experienced by the children of adolescent parents. Recent research by McCrate (1989), an economist, challenges the assumption that fewer years of schooling and lower returns to education is due solely to an early birth. Based on wage data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, the differences in returns to education are lower for women who become teenage mothers owing to the quality of the education available or the rationing of primary-sector jobs (McCrate, 1989).

Though discussed separately until now, one cannot dismiss the link between teen pregnancy and school dropout. National Longitudinal Survey of Youth data show that females in the bottom quintile of a measure of basic reading and math skills are five times more likely to become mothers over a two-year period than those in the top quintile (Dryfoos, 1990) and that among those who do become mothers during adolescence, school completion rates remain low. At eighteen and nineteen, the traditional age for high school completion, only 54 percent of young mothers in this age group had completed high school education in 1988, compared to 86 percent of older mothers. Young black mothers were slightly more likely to have completed their secondary education (57 percent) than white mothers (52 percent) (Centers for Disease Control, 1991). A recent study by Upchurch and McCarthy (1990) examined the relationship between the time of a first birth and high school completion. Contrary to the findings of other studies, these researchers found that young women who have a baby while still enrolled in school and who remain in school are just as likely to graduate as women who do not. However, among high school dropouts, a birth reduces the chances of eventual graduation.

ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY AND PARENTING

The issue of teen pregnancy and parenting has been the focus of considerable public policy concern for over two decades. Recently, a revisionist view challenges assumptions that the threat associated with early childbearing is as great as some research has indicated (Furstenberg, 1991). This view holds that the focus on teenage pregnancy and childbearing draws public attention away from deeper structural sources of family change and that early childbearing may be an adaptive response to social and economic deprivation. Many teens are deeply disadvantaged before they have children and, like other women from disadvantaged backgrounds, face long odds of doing well later in life whether or not they become pregnant at an early age (Geronimus, 1990; Geronimus & Korenman, 1990; Luker, 1990).

The question raised by this analysis is whether society should continue to devote scarce resources to preventing or postponing pregnancy and ameliorating its consequences. Though some research has overstated the effects of teen childbearing, there is still enough evidence to suggest that too-early childbearing does have negative consequences for many teen mothers and fathers, and their children, who are also placed at higher risk. For example, in a review of current knowledge about cognitive and psychosocial development in adolescence in relation to biological development of adolescent parents, Petersen and Crockett (1986) concluded that the key factor related to parenting capacity is chronological age. The older the adolescent chronologically, the more likely she is to have sufficient cognitive and psychosocial maturity as well as the appropriate knowledge and experience to function as an adequate parent. Younger adolescents, even if they are at no risk biologically from the pregnancy, are at increased risk for poor parenting given their less mature developmental status. In studies prior to and beginning the decade of the 1980s, adolescent mothers compared with older parents were reported to be less aware of and knowledgeable about infants' and children's developmental milestones, less sensitive to infant signals and needs, less aware of how to stimulate children's development, less inclined to spontaneous play, and less likely to spend time looking at and talking to their infants, while being more ambivalent toward motherhood and more prone to use physical punishment (Miller & Moore, 1990).

In contrast, Kinard (1990), in a review of the research literature on the risk for psychological problems among the children of adolescents, found that the empirical evidence is not yet sufficiently strong or stable to permit definitive conclusions. What the research does appear to indicate is that children of adolescent mothers have greater behavior problems during their adolescent years (Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, & Morgan, 1987). Differences were seen with respect to delinquency, aggression, and social interaction. Furstenberg et al. (1987) also found that half of the children of teenage mothers in the study were not at grade level at the time of the follow-up. The study findings indicated that both behavior and school performance were negatively affected by the mother's being on welfare, being unmarried, not having finished high school, and having an additional birth.

SOCIETAL RESPONSES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Keeping pregnant teenagers and young mothers in school and helping them gain the skills they will need to support themselves and their children is a major public policy objective and one that received explicit recognition in the 1988 Family Support Act. The act targets teen custodial parents on AFDC and requires teens under twenty without a high school diploma or its equivalent to participate full time in educational activities leading to a diploma. Though the majority of schools halted blatant discrimination toward pregnant and parenting students following the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, there is still considerable evidence that rather than making special efforts to retain pregnant and parenting young women, many schools continue to limit the opportunities available to them (Academy for Educational Development, 1988; Dunkle, 1985, 1990; Nash & Dunkle, 1989). A recent survey of state educational equity practices reports that several states have repeatedly attempted to exclude pregnant students from the honor society and at least one state automatically exempts parents, married and unmarried, and pregnant students from compulsory attendance requirements (Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, 1990).

Despite the national focus on too-early parenting, research evidence suggests that pregnant and parenting teens are not seen by the majority of school personnel as a group requiring special attention. Many judge these teens as second-class students; 55% of respondents report that sometimes teachers thought pregnant and parenting students were morally or intellectually inferior and 45% of the respondents judged pregnant and parenting girls more harshly than teen fathers (Academy for Educational Development, 1988; Nash & Dunkle, 1989).

Though less than pervasive, some positive attempts to support teenage parents have taken root. One of the early studies of the response of the schools to the passage of Title IX mandating equal rights for pregnant and parenting students was conducted by Zellman (1981), who found two primary types of program models: the inclusive curriculum model and the integrated noncurricular model. The inclusive models provide education and other services in a separate environment. Though all inclusive programs provide services during pregnancy, fewer provide services into the postpartum period for an extended period of time. Integrated noncurricular and supplemental curriculum programs provide course work relating to pregnancy and parenting and/or services in the regular school setting for which credit may be given. Other services such as child care and counseling may also be provided. Integrated (i.e., mainstream) programs are more likely to provide services during the postdelivery period.

There is a philosophical difference between these two approaches. The inclusive model assumes that pregnancy is a highly stressful period for teens and that support and protection during this period should be provided in a separate environment. The integrated programs hold that young mothers can best learn to function in their new role as parent in a regular school environment (Zellman, 1981, p. vi). These two views continue to be reflected in program development for pregnant and parenting teens (Francis & Marx, 1989; Marx, 1991; Marx, Bailey, & Francis, 1988).

A recent survey of nine urban school districts in the United States conducted in 1987-88 (Academy for Educational Development, 1988) found tremendous variability among the administrators interviewed in their knowledge of how many students were affected by teen pregnancy, their educational needs, and the responsiveness of youth-serving institutions to these needs. The authors note that this lack of knowledge has serious repercussions in terms of dropout prevention programs. Most administrators behave as if pregnant and parenting teens are not a significant proportion of the dropout population, yet the reality is that this group probably comprises one-quarter of all dropouts (Academy for Educational Development, 1988, p. 12). The study also found that pregnant and parenting dropouts are largely invisible, getting far less attention than those still in school. As was true in the Zellman study (1981) special programs for pregnant girls were more prevalent than those for parenting students. In sum, services for teen mothers, when available, are targeted to small numbers of students, organized through special programs, without sufficient attention to the coordination of services.

Some programs designed to ameliorate the consequences of adolescent pregnancy have developed over the last two decades. Although the research evidence remains spotty, some recent studies suggest that community programs that offer comprehensive medical, social, and educational services for up to three years postpartum appear to have a greater impact on educational attainment, the acquisition of vocational skills, the delay of subsequent births, and economic self-sufficiency than do short-term programs (Marx, 1987).

Schools, although often a reluctant partner in providing services to pregnant and parenting teens, continue to be an important locus for services and a critical focus for program development. Recent studies indicate that schools are increasingly involved in providing child care programs on or near campus to enable teens to remain in school (Marx, Bailey, & Francis, 1988). Case managers in the high schools are proving to be an effective tool for both providing and coordinating an array of services to pregnant and parenting students. Results show that girls enrolled in such programs had an over 80 percent retention rate (Earle, 1990).

From initial interventions focused on improved birth outcomes and keeping teens in school during pregnancy and the immediate postpartum period, public policy has slowly moved toward services to young parents and their children that may extend for two or three years following delivery (Klerman, 1981; Marx, 1987). Such efforts may range from national demonstration models to state and local efforts. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, the New Futures School, which provides educational, vocational, health, and social services including on-site child care for pregnant and parenting teens, reports that over a six-year period, 82 percent of all participants graduated from high school or obtained an equivalency diploma, and 32 percent of this group went on to postsecondary education or training. These figures are particularly impressive given that 36 percent of the student body were previous school dropouts. The provision of on-site services is also credited with keeping the subsequent pregnancy rate to one-third the national average (Marx, 1987).

Other notable efforts exist in San Francisco where an interagency, citywide, comprehensive case management service network is coordinated by the San Francisco Unified School District and a local nonprofit agency. Cross-program data on teen mothers and fathers followed from childbirth to six months indicates that program participation helped these teens maintain a 60 percent school enrollment rate, three times the typical school continuation rate for young parents (Marx, Bailey, & Francis, 1988). In the Illinois Ounce of Prevention/Parents Too Soon Project, teen parents participating for twelve months had nearly one-third fewer subsequent pregnancies, were almost four times more likely to be enrolled in school, and were somewhat more likely to be employed than a comparable sample (Ruch-Ross & Jones, 1988).

In one of the few experimental longitudinal studies to document the positive benefits of providing educational day care services to the children of single teenage mothers, Campbell, Breitmayer, and Ramey (1986) found that the teen mothers who had free access to high-quality day care for their children increased their likelihood of completing high school, obtaining postsecondary training, and becoming self-supporting, and reduced their likelihood of experiencing subsequent births. The children of teen mothers benefited from the day care program as well, demonstrating higher mental test scores than the children in the comparison group. Although both the experimental and control groups had access to similar community resources, educational programs, and health care, the authors of the study suggest that several factors may have contributed to the higher success rates of those receiving program services: active outreach to participants by social service and health care facilities; provision of day care from infancy on without cost; on-site health care; and free and dependable transportation to program services. According to the authors, a good child care program can make the difference between success or failure for single teenage mothers.

However informative these efforts, it must be remembered that programs to prevent and ameliorate the effects of too-early childbearing are relatively few and good research data are even scarcer. We do know that programs providing the necessary educational, vocational, and ancillary services are needed if we are to improve the chances of success for pregnant and parenting teens.

ADOLESCENTS AND THE TRAINING/PARENTING PROGRAM

From a developmental standpoint, all adolescents go through similar maturation processes. For teen parents, the sequence of these developmental tasks is the same, but it is somewhat compressed in time since the developmental needs of their offspring must also be encompassed. For some teen parents, the experience is positive and their lives are enhanced by having a child. As the literature has made clear, how well teen parents function is largely dependent on the supports available to them from their families, peers, schools, and other social institutions.

Since many teenage parents have not completed their secondary education, a training/parenting program for this group would need to place priority on the attainment of the high school diploma or the GED. Teen parents are capable of this, so long as supports are made available to them and so long as those involved recognize their special needs. However, given the complexity of the lives of teen parents and the extra demands that parenthood makes on the completion of their own developmental tasks, the training/parenting program might do well to consider a focus on older teen parents and those who are nearing the completion of their high school educations. Linking child care worker training programs with teen parent programs through vocational education, vocational technical colleges, and junior colleges could also provide teen parents with credits toward their postsecondary degrees. Whatever form the training/parenting program takes, it must not place added and unrealistic burdens on teen parents, for then we would be endangering not only the parent but the child.

In addition to supplying valuable information on the special needs of current teenage parents (who will in all likelihood constitute a percentage of our training/parenting pool), this review provides insight into the background of many of our anticipated populations. By understanding what many low-income mothers have experienced by having been teen mothers and how their development may have been modified, we are better equipped to design a training/parenting to their needs.

CHAPTER 5

THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN

As we have seen, theories of development and learning, though critically important to understand, do not of themselves shape the life chances of women to learn and develop. Societal realities interact with development and learning to create career options for women. Since the women in our analysis are often considered those for whom life and career chances may be most limited, we turn to a discussion of career options for women in an effort to broaden our understanding of the challenges and opportunities the participants in our training/parenting program face. Where feasible, literature on the career development of low-income women will be addressed. In particular, we focus on the career development challenges faced by women from other cultures.

WOMEN'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL

The literature on women's career development provides an interesting reflection of society's attitudes toward women's advancement. One body of literature clearly suggests that, though there are many different patterns of career development for men and women (Lord, Wyman, Scott, & McLoughlin, 1979), the rationales for labor force participation of women are strong and career change is sound, a recognized part of the continuous growth and development that extends through a lifetime. A second body of literature seems to be more barrier-driven. It postulates that career advancement for women is difficult and that for low-income populations, including women, career advancement is a matter of overcoming some fairly substantial hurdles.

To support the first -- and decidedly more optimistic -- line of thought, several rationales are offered. Denniston and Imel (1982) postulate that the common availability of birth control, the increase in leisure time, the expansion of the middle class, and the social liberation of women and minorities have all contributed to an environment wherein individuals are encouraged to work and advance in their careers. Women seem to be motivated to join the work force because of changes in the marketplace economy or because of changes in their individual economic situations. In the first instance, unemployment, underemployment, inflation, and shrinking take-home pay all propel women into the labor force. In the second instance, a woman is likely to enter the work force when she experiences a shift in her individual economic state, because of either divorce or change in family structure or status. Conversely, women are motivated to change careers less for financial reasons than because of job dissatisfaction or job obsolescence. For example, changes in technology may cause some jobs to be eliminated and others created, thereby forcing women to change careers. Further, there may be an increased need for occupational training and retraining owing to changing employment patterns and opportunities (Imel, 1982).

Supporting the thesis that job change is normal, Denniston and Imel (1982) suggest that several preconditions must be met before job changes occur: first, women must have access to information about alternative careers; second, they must have access to training and information about specific career opportunities; and third, there must be flexible circumstances within the family that permit adequate time and money for training, as well as the provision of the necessary psychological and emotional supports. Finally, the woman's self-concept must permit her to take the associated risks.

While these are cited as preconditions for change, the other body of literature suggests that women, particularly low-income women, face barriers that must be overcome. For example, Jochums (1989) suggests that many disadvantaged adults will confront four or more of twelve predefined barriers: (1) becoming acculturated to society, (2) becoming acculturated to the workplace, (3) developing proficiency in the English language, (4) having adequate systems of support, (5) receiving vocational training, (6) developing the ability to function independently, (7) finding appropriate learning environments, (8) achieving basic educational credentials, (9) developing a sense of career planning, (10) developing skills for entry-level jobs, (11) learning to use resources for adult education, and (12) developing skills related to advancement. None of these independently is a modest challenge, but taken together, they present a picture of career development for low-income individuals as being somewhat herculean.

Despite the challenges associated with career advancement, several studies indicate that under certain conditions, low-income individuals can develop their careers. Manuele (1984) demonstrated that career development is enhanced by helping low-income individuals confront the major tasks associated with developing work skills and by helping them acquire the psychosocial skills needed to cope with these tasks. In this intervention, life skills educators taught employment and psychosocial skills focused on (1) personal identity and direction; (2) occupational fields exploration; (3) jobs and training; (4) employment agencies and personal contacts; (5) choosing a good job; and (6) the job interview.

Others believe that in addition to skills training, more fundamental change must take place. Messer and Lehrer (1976) argue that some fundamental alterations in life-style, aspirations, attitudes, and self-esteem must occur in order to prevent the recurrence of patterns of living that made it difficult to be employed in the first place. They support extensive counseling and helping low-income women to confront the reality of their economic survival through social and vocational rehabilitation.

The relationship between job retention and career advancement has also been studied, with some studies suggesting that economically disadvantaged women have retained their jobs at a significantly higher rate than men (Goodman, Salipante, & Paransky, 1973). Though this may appear to be positive, such retention may reflect a lack of opportunity rather than job satisfaction. Interestingly, Martin and Bartol (1985) found that the reasons for job retention did not vary from economically disadvantaged populations to mainstream populations. Across income levels, the researchers found that the performance of the employee as evaluated by the supervisor, the employee's satisfaction with her supervisor, and the employee's perceived ease of career movement were the factors related to job retention. Satisfaction with their preemployment training was not significantly related to job retention. The studies do underscore the importance of helping low-income trainees develop skills so that they can build a satisfactory relationship with their supervisors.

TRAINING WOMEN BORN IN OTHER CULTURES

A number of the candidates for the training/parenting program we envision may be individuals not born in this country, and those not familiar with the American work culture. Because this population is particularly important to maintaining the cultural diversity of the early care and education field and is often excluded from conventional parenting programs, it is imperative that we accord special attention to the training culturally diverse mothers.

Literature and experience suggests that women born outside of the United States and now living in this country seem to confront additional obstacles in the development of careers. In addition to language barriers, immigrant women may be limited in their understanding of the culture in which they wish to be employed. Sadly, the emphasis of most programs that train women from other cultures has been to change the individual so that she can adapt to the cultures of the organization (Friedlander & Greenberg, 1971). Though many efforts have been made to frame the training in ways that are culturally acceptable to the trainees (Burns, 1980; Nadler, 1970; Triandes, Feldman, Weldon, & Harvey, 1975), there is an inherent ambiguity in the programs that adopt this philosophy. They are asking individuals to discard some of themselves in order to sustain themselves. Not surprisingly, these programs seem not to have been especially successful if one looks at the number of trainees who do not go on to take jobs for which they have been trained (Mason, 1986).

To date, the efforts have been varied, some concentrating on developing communication skills in English as a cornerstone of the effort. Others take a broader, more open-ended approach. Though some English mastery seems to be important to successful placement, those who work with individuals from other cultures suggest that there is also a real need for flexibility in programming. In discussing the need to improve the job skills in a highly impoverished Hispanic community, Nicoban (1988) suggests that a key ingredient to success is a program that ensures easy and flexible reentry into the educational system for adults through the age of twenty-five.

As much as the early care and education field values cultural diversity and strives to lure individuals from various backgrounds to serve as role models for children, training attempts have resulted in mixed success. A good example is Orange County, California, which had six varied training programs. Some offered only basic information necessary for the licensing of home-based child care providers. Others taught child development, early education, nutritional health and safety, and emergency procedures. Unfortunately, regardless of the type or extent of training they received, few Southeast Asian women ended up taking jobs in the field (Mason, 1986).

In Sheboygan, Wisconsin, Southeast Asian women were eager to learn about child development and American methods for rearing children, but few were interested in being certified to become home-based child care providers. Of the forty who were trained, only six became certified. Most were afraid to take low-wage jobs that could not support a family because they were on AFDC and were afraid of losing their eligibility (Mason, 1986).

It is important to note that sometimes low-income women from other countries not only face the challenges of coping with a different language, strange cultural values and norms, the rigors of familial dislocation, and sometimes isolation but may also experience all the liabilities associated with poverty--inequitable access to services, poor transportation, and limited child care and other supports (Nicoban, 1988). Because of their value as parents and providers, we have a special responsibility to ensure their involvement in the training/parenting program.

Although some of the literature stresses the new opportunity and motivation for women to enter the work force, women still face a great number of barriers to employment and career opportunities. Awareness of the barriers is the first step in lowering them.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS OF THE EFFORTS

The literature on the participants themselves provides useful information as we plan our training program for low-income high school parents. Taking into consideration the literature on adolescent and adult development and learning, and the information on the career development of women, we conclude this section with preliminary findings related to participant selection and assessment, support services, curriculum content, and intervention strategies.

Implications for Selection and Assessment

1. Economic analyses indicate that the program should be open to low-income mothers with at least a high school diploma or GED. Defining the target population in this way is likely to tap substantial numbers of short- and long-term welfare recipients, and it ensures that participants will have the basic skills necessary to participate in postsecondary child care training.

2. Entry into the program should be on a voluntary basis: the literature on adult learning indicates that adults need to feel motivated to take the time and energy to learn and need to maintain a feeling of independence throughout the learning process.

3. In order to further our knowledge of what training strategies work best for what people, participants should be assessed for both their developmental and differential stages of growth (a biaxial assessment, similar to Erikson's, 1950). This data, when analyzed in light of follow-up evaluations of program completion and employment success, could provide new insight into methods of matching training strategies with developmentally categorized groups of trainees. Care should be taken, however, to employ stage theories with proven relevance to the experience of women.

4. The program should evaluate the coping abilities of the trainees, since we have found that chronological age and time are not good indices for measuring maturity.

5. The finding that women become more assertive with age (Neugarten, 1964) suggests that older (more assertive) participants could serve as role models for the younger women.

6. New program entrants should be assessed for barriers to employment (as defined by Jochums, 1989). This information should be used to draw up a program plan for each participant.

Implications for Support Services

1. Women should be helped to deal with the career-family dilemma; they should be provided support and encouragement in their attempt to successfully combine the two.

2. Participants' psychosocial skills, shown in the literature to be crucial to successful career development, should be augmented through counseling and other self-support vehicles (Manuele, 1984).

3. Counseling may be used to break the life cycle of low self-esteem, depleted ambition, and modest aspirations sometimes found in low-income women.

4. The program should be flexible enough to accommodate unique cultural needs and philosophies.

5. Family support services and role models can have powerful positive effects on the families of teen mothers--especially on the children--in which the combination of poverty and early parenthood often lead to limited parenting ability. In addition, the supply of child care, health care, on-site service provision, and transportation are necessary in programs serving teen mothers.

6. Since education is usually of secondary importance for adults, participants should be helped to reprioritize their roles and responsibilities to ensure strong commitment to the training.

Implications for Curriculum Content

1. A self-directed curriculum would allow adult learners to maintain a sense of autonomy and independence as well as accommodate variance in participants' learning speeds.

2. The material should enable participants to solve problems and fulfill their needs and should be relevant to the foundation of experience that they already possess.

3. The material should have immediate application to women in their new jobs, and that application should be spelled out clearly.

Implications for Intervention Strategies

1. Since we learned from Lasker and Moore (1980) that education can reverse self-fulfilling prophecies, the program should adopt a philosophy that low-income women can indeed benefit from the program and go on to successfully follow the career paths for which they are being trained.

2. Participation in the program should be voluntary so as to increase trainees' feelings of self-empowerment and control.

3. As recommended by Knowles's concept of andragogy, learning contracts, though controversial, may be an effective tool for both trainee involvement and self-direction.

4. As made clear by the work of Freud, Knowles, and Freire, the teacher-student relationship should be revamped to one of co-investigatorship, thereby reducing a sense of trainee subordinancy.

5. Since women's development is so strongly influenced by relationships and attachment (Gilligan, 1982), the program should build group support and relationships with instructors and field personnel into both individual training modules and the program as a whole.

6. Training should try to identify and take advantage of "teachable moments," when the subject matter is most relevant to a participant's life and the time is ripest for acquiring new knowledge (Havighurst, 1953).

7. The material should have immediate application to women in their new jobs, and the application should be spelled out and operationalized for the trainees.

8. Program designers should be realistic about the length of time effective training takes and should set up budgets accordingly.

SECTION II

THE POLICIES: FEDERAL INITIATIVES

The purpose of this section is to summarize the evolution and effects of the major federal public initiatives that enhance the employment, training, and education of low-income women. Given that the existing literature is vast and that the goals of this analysis are to better understand these efforts as they relate to the employability of low-income women in child care, not all efforts will be investigated. Rather the most germane initiatives will be highlighted in three strands: (1) employment and training efforts, primarily sponsored by the Department of Labor (chapter 7); (2) vocational education efforts, primarily associated with the Department of Education (chapter 8); and (3) welfare-based efforts, primarily associated with the Department of Health and Human Services (chapter 9). Though treated in three chapters for organizational purposes in this review, the reader should keep in mind that often the efforts link across strands, especially in recent years. Following a discussion of each strand separately in chapters 7, 8, and 9, chapter 10 will present common findings and discuss collaborative linkages.

At the outset, it is important to point out that as federal job training and employment efforts have expanded and women have claimed a greater share of the resources in all three strands, analyses of the effects of such programs on women have expanded as well. However, the analyses are limited in several important ways. First, though descriptive studies of individual vocational or job training programs exist, they remain unpublished and inaccessible to the policy-making community and have not had a real impact. Second, broader national studies have been conceptualized within a narrow band of inquiry, directed at the goal of understanding program impact on participants' earnings. As a result, the lion's share of major research is decidedly econometric and limited by the methodologies of that discipline. More significantly, the questions asked are cast in cost-benefit terms, with costs construed as fiscal expenditures. Harlan and Steinberg (1989) note that "almost none of the literature--published or unpublished--attempts to discern the lessons learned during the past decade of program growth and experimentation. Nor does it address broader employment goals for diverse groups of women with differing training needs" (p. 7). Social costs--equity and access--are infrequently considered, and noneconomic personal benefits to the trainee are infrequently discussed in the literature. And, most germane to this analysis, effects on trainees' children and families are lightly addressed, if addressed at all. In short, the evolution of federal policies discussed in this section is more instructive in delineating the importance of social context as a catalyst for policy formation than it is for shedding light on a direct empirical link between social science and social policy. Moreover, it verifies the need for more intensive investigation of the ecological effects of such interventions on children and families.

CHAPTER 7
EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING EFFORTS

Broadly speaking, the primary goals of early federal employment and training efforts were to create jobs in the public sector and to develop skills for individual workers. Though apparently synergistic, these goals have led to multiple efforts throughout the years that have not always been equitable or coherent. The first goal--to match the supply of workers to available jobs in hopes of reducing unemployment rates and improving the nation's economy--was the major rationale for early employment and training efforts. The second goal--developing skills--was seen as a short-term intervention strategy, at first targeted primarily at unemployed men who were heads of households or teenagers. As the following analysis suggests, such foci have guided the evolution of federal employment and training efforts, with the result that many of our efforts have spawned only episodic and short-term skill-based interventions yielding results of questionable durability, and many have been too targeted toward men to be considered gender-neutral.

EARLY EFFORTS

The first federally sponsored work relief and work-training program was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) enacted in 1933 (Clague, 1976) as a part of Roosevelt's New Deal. The CCC was designed to place unemployed young men in public conservation and construction work, including the development of natural resources. With the establishment of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1935, the government signaled its willingness to assume a federal role in alleviating unemployment. Through the WPA, jobs that were intended to have long-term public value--e.g., highway and sewer construction, park development--were fostered, with the result that roughly 8.5 million individuals were trained and employed. Because such opportunities were limited to one person per household, the vast majority of those involved were men, reflecting the national commitment to sustain male-headed families while distributing the benefits of the federal elixir to reduce the massive unemployment of the era.

With the coming of World War II, the unemployment of the 1930s abated, and non-war related employment and training efforts diminished. Unemployment was a dormant issue not only during the war years, but also during the postwar years when America devoted itself to the lucrative task of postwar suburban resettlement and urban employment. With high employment rates and a soaring economy, it was not until 1962 that the next major federal involvement in training and employment surfaced.

Interestingly, the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 emerged to compensate for anticipated unemployment that would occur because of the rise of automation. The policy goal was to retrain workers for jobs that emerged in the new technologies (Ullman, 1974). With this goal in mind, MDTA provided classroom training and living stipends to unemployed family heads who demonstrated strong labor force attachment (Levitan & Mangum, 1969). Gradually, this strategy backfired for several reasons. First, MDTA could not find enough skilled workers suitable for retraining (Sundquist, 1969). Second, the anticipated mass dislocations did not take place (Barnow, 1989). Third, there was a growing realization that teenage unemployment was soaring, providing the impetus for adding a youth component to MDTA that focused on literacy and basic skills.

By far, though, the most important catalyst for change emanated from the emerging zeitgeist--a growing concern for the poor. Ascending rates of violent crime in America's ghettos, increased welfare dependency and illiteracy rates, and the failure of urban redevelopment efforts precipitated the greatest surge of federal policy for the poor, President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. In addition to expanding MDTA's institutional and job-training provisions, the Great Society legislation created other employment and training opportunities that placed a heavy emphasis on youth. Predicated on academic notions that emphasized saving young people before they perpetuated another generation of poverty and on political fears regarding the festering inner cities, the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 embraced a twofold strategy of empowering poor communities and expanding opportunities for inner-city youths. Consequently, it is not surprising that two of the EOA's five titles dealt specifically with unemployment: the larger authorized the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps; the smaller, the Work Experience and Training Program, was one of a series of efforts for low-income mothers. The Job Corps provided a structured residential environment for learning where poor youths (ages fourteen to twenty-one) could escape deprivation and realize their full potential. As such, it was the most comprehensive and intensive human resource investment strategy up to that time. In contrast, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, provided in-school, summer, and out-of-school experiences for teenagers to promote their employability. As the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) unfolded and additional needs surfaced, categorical programs were added that provided training and employment programs for rural adults, paraprofessional training for poor adults, training for adults in target poverty areas, and employment programs for welfare recipients.

Although these efforts seemed to retarget the history of training and employment programs from men to women, and from short-term skills to more durable knowledge, the results were quite mixed. Taggart (1981) reports that under MDTA, the primary classroom training vehicle of the time, women represented two-fifths of the enrollees, while whites accounted for three-fifths of the enrollees, suggesting some movement, but not the massive redirection from men to women or nonpoor to poor that is usually associated with this period.

Close analysis suggests that though women were experiencing high unemployment, they were not seen as the key ingredients in reversing soaring poverty. The focus was on males, indeed on black males, who because of their joblessness left families without necessary supports. The goal was to make black males employable so that they would assume their proper roles as family heads. In part, such an emphasis on males may be attributable to the fact that there was no popular concern for women's issues and little organized advocacy on their behalf during the sixties (Haignere & Steinberg, 1984; Marano, 1987; McLanahan, Sorensen, & Watson, 1986).

In addition to the comparative underrepresentation of women, the activities of this period left important legacies for future employment and training efforts. Harlan (1989) points out that the amount of resources devoted to employment and training increased from about $200 million in 1963-64 to $1.4 billion in 1970 and that diverse organizations at the community level became heavily involved in training, suggesting that the legitimacy of federal dollar and local community involvement was solidified. The audience shifted as well. Although the emphasis on men still predominated, the target group shifted from the skilled white male to the unemployed black male. Similarly, this era legitimated a focus on pretraining and remedial skills for the young, never-employed, disadvantaged population.

COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING ACT (CETA) of 1973

History and Background

Categorical programs with a heavy emphasis on federal funding became less popular with the arrival of Richard Nixon to the Presidency and his New Federalism to the American political landscape. In lieu of highly prescribed federal categorical interventions, the new orthodoxy proposed the unification of discrete programs into block grants that gave state and local governments preeminent authority. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973 consolidated categorical training and employment programs into a single administrative structure operated by city and county governments (Prime Sponsors). Title I became a block grant that awarded dollars on a formula basis and allowed localities choice of participants, sponsors, and delivery strategies. Permissive eligibility language permitted a shift in commitment from the most disadvantaged to those who were disadvantaged, unemployed, or underemployed. Broadly construed, "unemployed" or "underemployed" could mean that CETA eligibles had been unemployed for only one week in the preceding year. This language allowed a diversion from the hard-core unemployed to the short-term unemployed, suggesting a tension in the nation's training and employment policy that has yet to be fully resolved. Moreover, it conveyed the perennial changes that have characterized the nature and direction of our national programs in this area.

CETA itself was no exception to this flux. Though the name remained constant, changes in CETA occurred with remarkable regularity. In his well-known chronicle of CETA, Taggart (1981) suggests that "the CETA system was hardly operational before there were major changes and then dramatic expansion" (p. 14). The original act included Title I, comprehensive manpower services; Title II, public employment; Title III, special federal responsibilities; and Title IV, Job Corps. Amendments in 1974 added Title VI, emergency jobs, and in 1977, youth programs were added under Titles III-C and VIII. In October of 1978, CETA was reauthorized to include Title II-BC, comprehensive training programs; Title II-D, transitional employment opportunities; Title III, special federal responsibilities; Title IV, youth programs; Title VI, countercyclical public service employment; Title VII, private-sector opportunities; and Title VIII, Young Adult Conservation Corps (U.S. Congressional Budget Office & National Commission for Employment Policy, 1982). As a result of all these changes, CETA became more complicated and more categorical than the nightmare it was designed to replace (Taggart, 1981).

Though it is unnecessary to document every nuance of the CETA provisions, for our purposes four dimensions of the CETA story are particularly important. First, we need to understand the major provisions of CETA as product of the past and prologue to future employment and training policies; second, its basic training modalities; third, its primary effects in general; and fourth, for this study, its lessons for women in terms of training processes and training effects.

CETA Provisions

Because CETA changed so frequently, it is difficult to capture its provisions fully, except by taking a snapshot of the program at one point in time. To that end, this discussion will focus on 1980, a year when the program was fully operational. At that time, roughly 90 percent of the program was carried out under seven major titles of the act. For each of these categories, prime sponsors were required to submit annual plans outlining their activities and noting any changes in plans, target populations, enrollments, or spending levels. Periodic monitoring visits fostered compliance with the law.

Title II-BC provided a range of activities for the unemployed and economically disadvantaged in regular jobs in the public and private sectors. Under this title, 6.5 percent of the dollars could be spent on upgrading and retraining unemployed workers who were not necessarily disadvantaged.

Title II-D fully subsidized the employment of economically disadvantaged, long-term (fifteen weeks) unemployed in regular jobs and supported the creation of necessary projects in the public sector. While a broad title that allowed prime sponsors to expend dollars for any CETA activity, II-D required that roughly 20 percent of the dollars be used for training.

Title IV was the comprehensive training component for youth (YETP) and was targeted by age (fourteen to twenty-one). Up to 10 percent of the funds could be used for the nondisadvantaged. In reality, there was much overlap between Title IV and Title II-BC. A second component of Title IV supported year-round, neighborhood-based work projects. The focus was on structured, supervised work rather than human resource development. A third component of Title IV provided summer jobs for fourteen- to twenty-one-year-old economically disadvantaged youth. Frequently, these dollars were used to create summer jobs for this population.

Title VI was targeted to victims of recession who were currently unemployed. Funds under this title could be spent for any activities that were allowable in the entire act.

Title VII encouraged private-sector involvement by authorizing private industry councils with predominant business membership to decide on use of funds.

In addition to these titles, CETA also had several national programs. Title III funded programs for displaced homemakers, seasonal farm workers, veterans, older workers, ex-offenders, and persons with limited English proficiency. In addition, the most comprehensive of all the training interventions, the Job Corps was authorized as a subpart of Title IV.

Given CETA's constant evolution and its myriad components, funding streams, authorization levels, guidelines, and regulations, it has been difficult to determine its scope precisely. If judged in terms of participants, CETA would be considered a large program, with its numbers hovering around 2 million annually. For example, in 1980, the program served 2,006,400 participants, with roughly 95 percent in local programs, 3 percent in the Job Corps and 2 percent in other federal programs (Taggart, 1981). Such apparently high participation rates need to be taken with a grain of salt when compared with expansions in the labor force. For example, Taggart notes, "Despite a two-fifths increase in annual enrollments over the 1970s, the number of annual new training participants rose only from .56 to .66 percent of the labor force and will decline" (p. 40). If costs were the measure of scope, the program would again be considered large, with federal investments being $2,920,000,000 in 1975; $9,533,000,000 in 1978; and $7,700,000,000 in 1981 (U.S. Department of Labor, cited in U.S. Congressional Budget Office & National Commission for Employment Policy, 1982).

CETA Training Modalities

Equally complex were the various modalities used by CETA to deliver training. At the broadest level, they may be divided into four groups: (1) classroom training; (2) on-the-job training; (3) work experience; and (4) public service employment. In general, classroom training is conducted in an institutional setting and may be used to provide individuals with the job-specific skills that are necessary to perform a given job or group of jobs. In CETA, it was expected that such training would take place be in occupations where there was a strong opportunity for employment. Training lasted for up to two years and trainees were entitled to an hourly allowance equal to the minimum wage plus supplements for dependents and participation costs. If classroom training was provided for low-level employed workers, it was considered upgrading; for displaced workers, it was labeled retraining. A second form of classroom training provides the basic skills needed to perform in the general labor market. Such basic skills include high school equivalency preparation, English as a second language, and some school-to-work transition activities. Classroom training was a frequently used CETA training modality.

The second training modality, on-the-job training (OJT), is a combination of orientation, work, and skill training in a private-sector workplace after the participant has been hired by the employer. OJT trains a specific worker for a specific job at a specific work site. Employers receive a subsidy to offset losses they might incur from the reduced productivity of the trainee. At the end of the training, ideally, the trainee continues in unsubsidized employment. OJT focuses on operative and craft training because these skills are best learned in a workplace setting. In CETA, OJT was less frequently used than classroom training, largely because it is expensive and because employers often prefer "job-ready" candidates.

A series of other modalities used in CETA were sometimes considered independent modalities and at other times were linked with OJT. These included vocational exploration activities, transition services, and job search assistance. Vocational exploration activities expose participants to a wide range of vocational opportunities through field visits and guided observations. Transition activities provide participants with information about the labor market, counseling, and job placement strategies. Job search assistance provides participants with an understanding of what is expected of employees, as well as specific information about available jobs.

The third CETA training modality was work experience. Work experience provides a subsidized short-term or part-time work assignment that is designed to develop good work habits and basic work skills, rather than skill training for specific employment. Typically, work experience placements include supervision, supportive services, and complementary training. Work experience under CETA was generally limited to one thousand hours per year and was closely monitored to determine when the participant was ready to transfer to another activity. Work experience was the second most frequently used training modality in CETA.

The fourth training modality in CETA was public service employment (PSE). This is fully subsidized work in regular government or non-profit-sector jobs such as health care, child care, crime prevention, environment, facility maintenance, housing, and neighborhood preservation. PSE is used typically by more experienced and skilled workers who have been temporarily displaced. PSE offers less supervision than work experience and demands more of the employee.

CETA Effects

Though many employment and training programs prior to CETA have been evaluated, most studies were conducted in isolation and examined different programs. With the advent of CETA, an effort was made to redress past practices and to commandeer reliable data from an ongoing evaluation specifically designed to evaluate the impacts of CETA. Called the Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS), the study combined data from multiple sources that have been analyzed and reanalyzed. Chronicled by Barnow (1987) in his definitive analysis, four different studies yielded some interesting common findings. The studies found that CETA had a positive overall earnings impact of between $200 and $600 per year. The studies also agreed on four race-sex group findings: "All the studies found much larger impacts for women than men, with roughly equal impacts for white and minority women. The estimated impacts were usually similar for white and minority men, with white men typically having a slightly greater earnings gain from the program" (p. 159). Finally, the studies were fairly consistent in their rankings of training modalities. Activities with the highest estimated earnings impacts were PSE and OJT, with some studies finding earnings gains as high as $1,500 annually for these modalities. It should be noted that these are the most costly modalities as well. Classroom training had lower impact on earnings. Work experience, typically offered to the most disadvantaged CETA participants, had very small or negative impact on earnings. Burtless (1989) notes that "the one study that specifically examined earnings gains among female welfare recipients found gains in the upper part of this range" (p. 155).

Such unanimity of findings, while reassuring, masks very real differences in the data that have hallmarked the CETA evaluations since their onset. For example, an early study by Ashenfelter (1978) found that women in classroom training demonstrated the greatest postprogram earnings, followed by women in work experience and women in OJT programs. Such discrepancies point out the difficulty in trying to assess the effectiveness of any single modality. Data are confounded, because more often than not, individuals participated in multiple modalities, making the attribution of effects impossible. Second, while increases in average earnings of women have consistently outpaced men, much of the gain was due not to increases in wage rates but to increases in the amount of time worked. Third, in trying to assess differences in the duration of training, data indicate that the effect of training for women appeared to increase with the length of training, though this may simply reflect the fact that women with the greatest potential were the least likely to drop out of the program. Fourth, results vary from study to study, depending upon when the studies were conducted. For example, Taggart (1981) points out that initial evaluations of OJT seemed quite effective. Later investigations were less positive, presumably because those prepared for only one job lacked the skills transferability necessitated by the demands of different jobs. Conversely, the effects of classroom training increased over time, presumably because of the transferability of skills taught. Finally, methodological variations, including different premises that undergird various econometric models, yield different results and complicate the effects findings. In his work, Barnow (1987) concludes, "The great variation in impact estimates shows that the findings are highly sensitive to the methods used" (p. 189).

CETA and Women

Despite the limitations of the data regarding CETA effects, there have been some suggestive findings regarding the training and employability of women that warrant special attention in light of the focus of this analysis. There can be no doubt that under CETA women's involvement in federally sponsored training increased in general, as did the involvement of low-income women with children in particular (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986). But despite such increases, women remained underrepresented in CETA when compared to the percentages of those eligible to participate (Barnes, 1978). This underrepresentation has been attributed to federal eligibility guidelines that favored men, such as preference for veterans or means-tested eligibility based on family--not individual--earnings (Harlan, 1989). Further, given the press to serve the most needy, men who were family breadwinners were more likely to be served before second-income women.

The structure of CETA with its strong emphasis on local control has been offered as another potential reason why women were underrepresented. Indeed, studies of CETA implementation have found great variation in communities' services to women (Underwood, 1979). Several explanations have been offered. First, because communities had considerable leeway in defining the CETA populations to be served, women could have been legitimately second-tiered. Second, the contractors who ran CETA had considerable control over the program's local priorities. In some cases, contractors were simply less interested in female advancement than in male advancement. Moreover, given their unique needs and resources, communities might have concentrated their training on a modality that was deemed less appropriate for women (OJT), thereby inherently constraining female participation. Whatever the rationale, it is clear that federal and local policy directives collided to yield an underrepresentation of women in CETA.

Like other federal programs, CETA did not exist in a sociopolitical vacuum. Rather, as the needs of women became more apparent through the popularization of the feminization of poverty, as the women's movement gained momentum, and as preliminary data emerged from CETA, there were strong efforts to realign the program to ensure greater sex equity. The 1978 CETA reauthorization provided such an opportunity. Subsequent regulations were highly favorable for women: prime sponsors were required to provide equal enrollment opportunities for women and to develop affirmative action plans. The regulations also targeted welfare recipients and displaced homemakers, the majority of whom were women. Perhaps the most progressive aspects of the regulations that supported women were the authorization of payments for child care and the encouragement for women to enter nontraditional employment fields. But before these regulations could take full effect, CETA was dismantled.

Lessons from CETA

Ironically, CETA, touted at the outset as the solution to the disorganized array of training efforts, found itself embodying precisely those elements it was designed to remedy. As such, it was a target for another Republican administration's effort to devolve policies and programs to the states and municipalities. Reagan's New Federalism, coupled with a desire to streamline what had become an increasingly cumbersome program, led to the establishment of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) of 1982 as a successor to CETA.

Though very different from CETA in a number of ways, JTPA drew important lessons from the CETA experience. First, analyses of CETA indicated that there was too much generalized training offered. The programs did "not explicitly distinguish between low-income persons with little or no job experience and those with chronically low earnings" (U. S. Congressional Budget Office & National Commission on Employment Policy, 1982, p. 34). To offset this concern as well as the groundswell of interest in low-income women, it was recommended that the population to be served be more clearly specified and that special provisions be included for AFDC recipients.

Second, because of the results indicating greater benefits for women, particularly those women with limited previous experience, it was thought that a focus on entry-level skills and preparation for lower-wage occupations might be a suitable strategy in a next phase of policy development. This line of thinking was augmented by recommendations that encouraged a focus on job placement supports in lieu of protracted formal skills or educational training. Adding support to this was acknowledgment of the inequity of creaming the most capable candidates off the top of the applicant pool, leaving the least advantaged underserved. Concern mounted that special training strategies and programs should be developed for the needy, but heretofore underserved. Moreover, debates ensued regarding the duration of the training and whether to concentrate next-generation efforts on the few for whom the training might provide a "quantum leap" or on the many whose life improvements might be only marginal.

Third, there were grave concerns about the administration of the program, which, consistent with the ethos of the period, led to a strong consideration of the devolution of administrative authority closer to the locus of the training and employment activity. It was hoped that such a realignment would build in more local control and commitment from the private sector, a group that had had only a modest presence in the great CETA saga. This argument gained support from those who felt that the history of federal training and employment programs was built on a very weak local infrastructure. With few community institutions well equipped to handle employment and training, it was hoped that the next iteration of CETA would embrace a commitment to strengthening local capacity.

Finally, concern was expressed, perhaps most eloquently by Taggart (1981), that countercyclical funding had "ruptured the delivery system" (p. 309). To avoid the program's being a pawn of greater economic forces, advocates of more effective training and employment begged for more stable funding, without annual funding and guideline fluctuations. Moreover, to rectify inadequacies in the system, a greater targeting on the individual, not on the locale, was championed, as was reform of the entire CETA planning, management information, allocation, and regulatory system.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS ACT (YEDPA)

The instability and fluctuations in funding that characterized CETA also hallmarked another Department of Labor initiative, the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA). Passed by Congress and signed into law by President Jimmy Carter in 1977, YEDPA was a short-lived program (1977-81) that sought to establish and evaluate a variety of employment and training programs for youths. With its passage, federal expenditures for this purpose doubled, bringing the total to approximately $2 billion annually. YEDPA was unique in two ways: first, it had a dual (and some contend, conflicting) mandate from the outset--to implement service programs and to evaluate them; second, YEDPA was forced, via the legislative mandate, to function within a one-year start-up time frame. These two aspects, combined with a decentralized management structure that relied largely on nonprofit intermediaries, created an implementation nightmare that limited the program's effectiveness and the quality of the research results.

Despite the administrative weaknesses, the YEDPA experience revealed important implementation findings related to the development of training programs. Like other efforts, YEDPA had considerable difficulty recruiting targeted groups, most notably hard-to-reach males, who were often high school dropouts, and pregnant young women. Though the legislation called for linkages with schools, private employers, and other public and private agencies in an effort to overcome problems of individual recruitment and programmatic isolation, few such linkages proved sufficiently strong to redress these problems. This weakness led a national commission (Betsey, Hollister, & Papageorgiou, 1985) to conclude that school dropouts be given priority status for future programs and that in order to rid employment and training programs of the stigma associated with such targeting, all efforts should attempt to integrate these youths with mainstream institutions and activities. Specifically, the commission called for "a direct study of the appropriate role of the youth employment and training system, and its relation to the educational system in alleviating the employment problem of those youths most in need of assistance" (Betsey, et al., p. 24). Sensitive to the needs of young women, the commission also recognized that teen parenthood restricts educational, training, and employment opportunities of young women and recommended that more energy be devoted to understanding the potential nonemployment outcomes of job training for women, including reductions in welfare dependence and reduced early childbearing. The report did not call for detailed attention to the effects of training and employment on teen mothers' parenting skills or child outcomes.

YEDPA helped substantially to advance our knowledge of the effects of different training modalities. For in-school youth, there were suggestions of a correlation between employment while in school and employment and earnings after high school. For out-of-school youth, components of the Job Corps, particularly occupational skills training, seemed effective in solving some structural employment problems.

Perhaps the most important contribution of YEDPA and the commission's work was to point out a fundamental inconsistency in the overall education, employment, and training delivery system. Youth training programs inherently try to accomplish what schools and the education system should be doing. But functioning idiosyncratically with inconsistent funding as they do, youth employment and training programs have neither the financial resources nor the staying power of the public schools. This is the conundrum of the nonsystem that has evolved.

JOB TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT (JTPA)

Experience from these employment and training efforts did not arrive on a clean slate. Aside from the mounting programmatic concerns expressed above, 1980 saw the election of a new president and the onset of a new ideology. Two key elements characterized

President Ronald Reagan's strategies: curtail public expenditures and devolve control from the federal government to the states and the private sector. Employment and training programs were a logical target for both. Because they were not entitlements and were one of the few controllable and discrete elements of the budget, employment and training programs were ripe for change. Congress, who authorized the programs, never received credit since the programs were locally administered, but typically felt the brunt when the programs malfunctioned. And because the programs were located in poverty areas and tended to be isolated from mainstream institutions, they never developed the constituency necessary to effectively ward off legislative cuts. In an era primed for structural changes and budget cuts, the employment and training programs had no strength to stave the ax.

In October 1983, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) replaced CETA as the nation's major employment and training legislation. Though continuing many of the services of CETA, JTPA was born in a different ideological era and had the benefit of CETA's lessons. As a result, JTPA differs from CETA in important structural and programmatic ways.

Compared to its predecessor, JTPA is highly decentralized, with Congress providing the appropriation and the Department of Labor having responsibility for broad policy guidance and limited program oversight. The act enables states and local areas to select, within legislated parameters, the administrative/over-sight structure for service delivery and the types of services to be provided. Consequently, there is great variety in the persons and organizations involved with JTPA. At the state level, the governor appoints the state agency responsible for program oversight, appoints members to a State Job Training Coordination Council (SJTCC), which recommends policy and advises the Governor, and divides the state into Service Delivery Areas (SDAs), typically defined as local units of government. Officials of the SDAs report directly to the state, in contrast with CETA's prime sponsors who reported directly to the federal government.

In addition to strengthening states' roles in JTPA, the legislation sought to encourage greater involvement of the private sector and greater public-private-sector alliances. To accomplish this goal, local elected officials in each SDA needed to establish a Private Industry Council (PIC), its majority composed of representatives of the private sector. Powerful, the PIC selects organizations to receive training grants, approves service plans, and decides policy in conjunction with elected officials. To reinforce the role of the private sector in JTPA, "public service employment no longer exists: only private sector jobs can be subsidized through increased use of on-the-job training" (Harlan, 1989, p. 64).

Another major change that distinguishes JTPA from CETA is participant eligibility. The stated purpose of JTPA is to prepare youth (ages sixteen to twenty-one) and unskilled adults (age twenty-two and older) for entry into the labor force. JTPA does authorize the provision of job training for economically disadvantaged individuals--a group defined by household income, but one that also includes welfare and food stamp recipients and the handicapped. The act allows SDAs to enroll up to 10 percent of participants who are not economically disadvantaged but face serious barriers to employment, including school dropouts, veterans, ex-offenders, and those with limited English proficiency. The system is also expected to make efforts to provide equitable services among substantial segments of the eligible population. Forty percent of the funds must be spent on youths. Though women are not targeted as a group per se, AFDC recipients--who are mostly women--are included, probably because Congress hoped to use JTPA as a means of reducing the number of welfare recipients. Consequently, more than CETA and other previous legislation, JTPA is identified with the AFDC population (Marano, 1987).

Finally, JTPA is unique in that the act required the Secretary of Labor to establish performance standards and provide rewards for SDAs that exceed those standards and sanctions for those that do not. The basic measures of performance are increases in employment and earnings and decreases in welfare dependency among participants (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1989b). For youth, measures concerning employment competencies, school completion, and enrollment in other training programs or enlistment in the military were to be established. Reinforcing state authority, governors can accept the standards or can adjust them for local labor market conditions within SDAs.

JTPA Provisions

Five titles compose JTPA, with Title II, parts A and B, being the most significant. Title II-A is the single largest program under the act, funded at about $1.9 billion annually. From the time of its implementation through 1989, Title II-A spent about $10 billion to provide training to about 5 million disadvantaged youths and adults (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1989b). Title II-A provides the direct service component and specifies that 78 percent of the funds must be passed through to SDAs so that individuals--either economically disadvantaged (90 percent) or non-disadvantaged, but experiencing employment barriers (10 percent)--can be served. Eight percent of the money in this title is available for state education and coordination grants to provide assistance to state education agencies for employment and training; 6 percent is available to the governor for incentive grants; 5 percent may be used for auditing/administrative services and for serving and staffing the SJTCC; and 3 percent is available for the training and placement of older individuals (fifty-five and over). JTPA lists thirty categories of acceptable activities and, like CETA, participants in OJT receive wages from their employers that are typically subsidized at 50 percent. Title II-B focuses on providing direct education and employment services to economically disadvantaged youths over the summer months.

The purposes of the other four titles are to explain the state and local service delivery system and the general program (Title I); establish state-administered programs for dislocated workers and other target populations (Title III); establish funding for federally administered activities (Title IV); and amend the Wagner-Peyser and Social Security acts to foster coordination with the job training program (Title V).

Though presented as discrete titles, often the population groups overlap, resulting in an SDA serving the same individual in more than one title. Often individuals move between Title II-A and Title II-B, and between Title II-A and Title III and sometimes Title II-B recruits out of II-A and vice versa (Doolittle & Traeger, 1990). Such overlaps, as we saw in CETA and will see in JTPA, complicate evaluation and the interpretation of results.

JTPA and Women

On the one hand, JTPA--through its AFDC provisions--appears to be more sensitive than past legislation to the employment and training needs of women; JTPA does prohibit discrimination against them (Sec. 167a2). On the other hand, neither the act nor the regulations contains specific language that advances affirmative action (Harlan, 1989). Traditionally, when there have been advances in equal employment opportunities, they have come because of strong federal commitments and mechanisms to enforce those commitments; the absence of such in this legislation, coupled with strong state control, permits decreased attention to the issue. Equally important, structural provisions of the legislation may work to inhibit equal opportunities for women. The strong focus on performance standards and employability outcomes encourages programs to "cream" those most likely to achieve success at the lowest cost. Women, by virtue of their caretaking responsibilities and needs for additional supports, are more costly to train and hence detract from an SDA's performance record. It has been suggested that those most likely to need training and employment are the least likely to receive it. Indeed, the creaming issue was of such import that a GAO study (1989b) was commissioned to address the concern that "local program operators have selected applicants who were more likely to succeed, while avoiding hard-to-serve individuals requiring more training" (p. 2). While the study found little evidence of misdirected targeting, it was clear that in a program that served only an estimated 4 percent of the eligible population (Bennett & Perez, 1987) and that failed to reward providers for training hard-to-serve populations, little explicit attention was dedicated to this predominantly female population.

Beyond inequity of access, other factors differentiate the JTPA experience for men and women. The GAO study (1989a) confirmed earlier work indicating that men and women receive different training modalities, with males receiving proportionately more OJT and females receiving occupational training that teaches technical skills for specific job categories--for example, clerk-typist and medical assistant (Levitan & Mangum, 1969; Waite & Berryman, 1984). In addition, proportionately fewer black than white women were enrolled in OJT (Harlan, 1989). These findings were similar to those in the Work Incentive program where employers not only preferred men but were reluctant to hire women (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979). In part, this reluctance may be attributed to the age-old thinking that accords job priority to male breadwinners. It may also be an artifact of the reality that a large number of the OJT employers were small, marginally profitable firms who were attracted to OJT because of the wage subsidies. Small profits may make such firms less likely to expend scarce resources to train and integrate women into unfamiliar settings. Moreover, training for higher skill and male-dominated occupations is more costly and time consuming, forcing even well-intentioned operators away from it (Solow & Walker, 1986).

The consequence of such differentiated training eventuates in occupational and employment differences for women and men. Such stereotyping in training inevitably leads to occupational stereotyping and segregation. The GAO study (1989a) found that 36 percent of males and 19 percent of females were trained for higher skill occupations. Reflecting this training, placements were also differentiated by sex, with twice the percentage of men (22 percent) as women (11 percent) placed in higher skill jobs. Overall, proportionately more males than females were placed, and average placement wages were higher for males than females (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1989b, p. 30). Via their training enrollment, women are disfranchised; their training, rather than serving to liberate them from employment inequities, perpetuates the inequities.

One effort to reverse these patterns has been to train females for nontraditional occupations (NTOs), those that are frequently filled by men and usually pay higher wages. Literature on such efforts suggests that though there are attitudinal barriers to be overcome, special components of NTO programs including targeted recruitment, career counseling, pretraining, and refresher programs are helpful (Haignere & Steinberg, 1989).

Despite such efforts, inequity still prevails in female training and placement, suggesting that far more work is needed not only to equalize opportunities for men and women within the training and employment programs but also to institute profound changes in attitudes and systems beyond the programs. Within the programs, incentives must be created to foster extended training for traditional and nontraditional placements, comprehensive services, and supports for trainees. In contrast, the current system seems to reward short-term conventional training so that SDAs can keep per-participant costs small, thereby fostering broader enrollments (Walker, Grinker, Seessel, Smith, & Cama, 1984). Outside the program, some muscle must be put behind the rhetoric that accords equal opportunity for women.

JTPA Effects

The goal of JTPA has been clear from the outset and is reflected in the program's legislation: JTPA is an investment in human capital, not an expense. In order to determine whether that investment has been productive, the basic return on the investment is to be measured by the increased employment and earnings of participants and the reductions in welfare dependency (P.L. 97-300, Sec. 106a).

Though there have been numerous evaluations of CETA that suggest that its benefits were greater for women than for men and that earnings did increase for participants, cautions regarding overgeneralizing results from CETA to JTPA have been offered in the literature. Barnow (1989) suggests that the findings should not be extrapolated to JTPA because the nature of the interventions varies. During CETA, PSE and work experience were major program elements that have been used only on a limited basis, if at all, in many JTPA efforts. Second, the participant mix has changed greatly, with JTPA representing far more disadvantaged persons, particularly in Title II-A. Finally, differences in the administrative structure and reward systems between the two programs inhibit meaningful comparisons. Differences in the use of stipends to participants and in the rewards and sanctions offered local programs seriously jeopardize any extrapolations.

Though data continue to mount, currently there is only limited information regarding JTPA effects. The 1989a GAO study indicates that on indices related to the government-established criteria, JTPA seems to be faring quite well. For example, JTPA far exceeds CETA's placement rates. Also, JTPA has proven effective in preparing participants for jobs requiring moderate- to high-level skills. "Participants who received higher or moderate skill occupational training, regardless of their job readiness, tended to get better jobs at higher wages than those who received other training or services" (p. 60). The GAO findings do not prove that more intensive training is cost effective, but the report does recommend program experimentation with more intensive interventions. The report also recommends additional emphasis on training for higher-skill occupations.

These recommendations have immediate implications for this study. Day care worker/babysitter is categorized in JTPA as a lower skill position, one for which additional training would not be advocated. In contrast, teaching and tutoring is considered a high-skill category. Classification decisions of low and high job skills were made with the assistance of officials from the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, individuals who might not be aware of the close link between child care and teacher preparation. Whether low or high, it is interesting to note that very few JTPA trainees are involved in either. A slim 1.8 percent of all females and .2 percent of all males were trained for the day care worker/babysitter category. And despite the fact that teaching was considered a high-skills occupation, only .2 percent of all females and .1 percent of all males were trained for it (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1989a). Such low percentages suggest that the SDAs probably regard child care and early education as too demanding and expensive a training for the fiscal rewards that are recouped.

Clearly, it is premature to examine the effects of JTPA in depth, as many critical evaluations are currently underway. Nonetheless, given that this project may be undertaking an evaluation of a training program, it is interesting to note the caveats suggested by other scholars. Doolittle and Traeger (1990) point out that the systematic evaluation of JTPA is so complex because it is an already operating system that offers a variety of services to a variety of participants. The lack of financial incentives for the sites and the necessary exclusion of randomly assigned control-group members from all JTPA-funded programs were serious disincentives for participation in their national study.

Using earnings gains is a questionable outcome measure because the gains may not occur immediately after participation in the training program, especially for youths. Moreover, as Barnow (1989) points out, the net benefits of a training program for society may be quite different than they are for the individual. When using reduction in welfare payments as an index of success, for example, the design must take into consideration how welfare not only values but monetizes earnings while recipients are in training and while they are employed. Moreover, it is incumbent on 1990s research to distinguish between increases in wages that are due to actual earnings gains and those that accrue because of extended employment hours. Finally, both Barnow (1989) and Taggart (1981) urge researchers and policy makers to be realistic in their expectations for training and employment interventions. Training programs will not end poverty, but they are an effective instrument in America's social arsenal. As such, they warrant more precise research that attends not only to economic outcomes but to noneconomic impacts and process/outcome correlations.

CHAPTER 8

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION EFFORTS

Often termed "crisis education," vocational education represents one of this the United States' most important efforts to solve manpower problems. It was this nation's first, and for a long time only, federally supported education, and it is a major training vehicle for millions of students annually; it is estimated to be the largest occupational training program in the country (U.S. Department of Education, 1984).

Despite its popularity, vocational education remains somewhat enigmatic for those not directly involved. Swanson (1982) contends that "no educational endeavor matches or exceeds vocational education in its problems of definition" (p. 33). Indeed, vocational education has many faces, representing a large amalgam of differentiated training activities and programs that operate at local, state, and federal levels. For the purposes of this discussion, vocational education will include organized educational programs that are directly related to the preparation of individuals for paid and unpaid employment. These "organized educational programs" are defined as instruction related to the occupations for which the students are in training, career guidance and counseling, and the preparation necessary for students to benefit from such instruction (U.S. Department of Education, 1985). Despite this definition, we need to clearly understand that there is no single program of vocational education; rather, it is "part of a complex decentralized structure for delivering public education in this country" (Lotto, 1986, p. 56).

To simplify, there are basically three broad types of vocational education: high school, postsecondary, and adult. The first may take place in a regular high school that offers an academic curriculum, in a separate vocational high school, or in an area vocational high school where students attend part time and return to their home-base high school for other courses necessary for graduation. A 1981 study found that 85 percent of young women (Campbell, Orth, & Seitz, 1981) and roughly 70 percent of young men had taken at least one vocational education course, though only half those percentages had taken enough credits to have salable skills. At the high school level, students are involved in technical, trade and industrial, marketing and distribution, health, home economics, and office occupations. The second form of vocational education, postsecondary vocational programs, are extremely flexible, open to both high school and non-high school graduates, and offer Associate degrees or certificates. Students may enter such programs shortly after high school or may delay entry. In contrast to being degree- or certificate-oriented, the third form, adult vocational education, tends to offer short-term training, usually related to specific job skills.

Like many other federal education interventions, vocational education had its earliest roots in attempts to achieve educational equity. From our early national history, through the end of the nineteenth century, education remained the province of the elite. In 1890, for example, less than 4 percent of the high school-age population was enrolled in secondary schools (Becker, 1982). To redress this inequity and to provide opportunity and appropriate programming for immigrant and working-class children, vocational education gained currency. It should be noted that the conventional common school curriculum was deemed ill-suited to the masses who were destined to work in industry and agriculture: vocational education was offered as the means to afford this population greater access to equal opportunity. With support from many organizations, including the National Society for Promotion of Industrial Education (later the National Society for Vocational Education) and the National Education Association, commitments to vocational education grew.

These visions were not solely those of isolated educators. Indeed, American industrialists--deemed eager allies (McClure, Chrisman, & Mock, 1985)--were equally concerned about how American education could meet their needs for a well-trained work force. Climbing aboard the bandwagon, business and industry were powerful players in the call for vocational education. It is not insignificant that business classes were the first vocational education courses introduced into the curriculum of the American schools (McClure et al., 1985).

Such support for vocational education should not be understood as ubiquitous. Many were (and continue to be) concerned that such efforts served only to harden class lines and to funnel one segment of society into the industrial proletariat. Some contended that, rather than affording equal opportunity, vocational education actually capped opportunity, that it was an "imposition on freedom and mobility of immature children and thus a threat to older American educational ideals" (Woodward, quoted in Violas, 1978, p. 141). On the one hand, vocational education was seen as the champion for equity of opportunity; on the other, it was construed as a permanent segregator, siphoning off those perceived "unable" to profit from an academic program. As viewed by some, vocational education was the instrument of a compassionate, caring society; by others, it was an instrument of a decidedly inequitable and capitalist society.

Despite such ideological equivocation, vocational education continued to thrive. During the early twentieth century, a series of progressive efforts--characteristic of the era--supported the growth of vocational education for the combined purposes of instituting greater equity and seeding a work force. The Pollard bill of 1906 appropriated dollars for state normal schools, the Livingston bill of 1906 called for the establishment of an agricultural secondary school in each congressional district, and the Page bills of 1911-12 called for an annual appropriation for vocational instruction in public secondary schools. But perhaps the greatest impetus to vocational education emerged following World War I when there was a serious shortage of trained workers to meet the nation's agricultural and industrial needs. Through the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act of 1917, $7 million were distributed through the states to train youth to help alleviate these shortages. The act also created a Federal Board of Vocational Education to oversee the administration of the federal program and required the establishment of state boards of vocational education.

As vocational education grew, it continued to be responsive to broader societal needs. The advent of World War II brought the George-Barmen Act, which helped furnish a trained work force, and the War Production Training Act, which provided crash training for war production workers. Post-Sputnik concern led to the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which incorporated, via Title VIII Area Vocational Educational Programs, a commitment to train persons for skilled technical occupations. The Korean conflict necessitated the Nurse Training Act to relieve a shortage of health professionals. Prompted by deeply rooted and diverse interests, vocational education recurrently surfaced as an antidote to a spectrum of social concerns.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACTS OF 1963 and 1968

The result not of war but of another crisis, the Vocational Education Act (VEA) of 1963 emanated from the unprecedented technological peacetime boom that followed World War II and was accelerated by the exploration of space. Growing industrial automation and scientific inquiry were accompanied by a shortage of skilled technicians qualified to meet the demands of the new industry. Pockets of poverty fermented in an otherwise affluent economy. Noticeable in both urban and rural areas, the government, through a panel appointed by President John F. Kennedy, turned to vocational education.

Through the VEA of 1963, sweeping reforms were accompanied by new dollars. The act authorized matched grants to states for assisting in maintaining, extending, and improving existing programs and developing new ones. Persons of all ages, including the handicapped, were eligible for training in gainful employment as skilled or semiskilled workers. The act is notable because it accorded greater flexibility to the states and because it targeted those with physical, academic, or socioeconomic needs.

Its successor, the Vocational Education Act (VEA) of 1968, made further administrative modifications and expanded enrollment opportunities even further. Administratively, it unified federal vocational legislation under one act by repealing provisions of several earlier acts. Additionally, funding set-asides were created for the emotionally and physically disabled, the academically and economically disadvantaged, and individuals whose primary language was not English. Consumer and homemaking courses in economically depressed areas and work-study programs in areas with high unemployment and dropout rates were also stressed. Like its predecessor, however, the VEA of 1968 made few special provisions for women.

THE 1970S AND 1980S

Following decades of expansion, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a series of challenges to vocational education. Amidst growing misalignment between inadequate job development and the rising expectations of American workers, vocational education was criticized widely. A 1972 report, commissioned by Secretary of Health, Education and Labor Elliot Richardson, charged that vocational education had failed to give students useful skills or place them in satisfying jobs (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972). Affirming these concerns, other reports investigated the expenditure of federal funds for vocational education (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1975). Later, a National Commission for Employment Policy (1981) recommended that support for vocational education be limited to the establishment and improvement of programs vital to the economy and defense of the United States. Such recommendations were heavily influenced by the ethos of the times and by the lack of uniform data attesting to the efficacy of vocational education. Though these positions were contested by many who affirmed its value, vocational education remained an effort shrouded by some ambiguity of purpose and effect.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND WOMEN

The emergence of the women's movement, the advent of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex), and the regulations that accompanied it changed things for women--somewhat. Title II of the Education Amendments of 1976 addressed overcoming sex stereotyping and sex bias in vocational education. There was to be a plan to accomplish this that would be reviewed annually, and $50,000 from each state grant was to be expended on personnel to carry out the intent of the legislation. Though no dollar amounts were required, the act mandated that training be accorded displaced homemakers or women who had been trained for "female-oriented" jobs and wished to be retrained in nontraditional employment. States were also permitted to use dollars for support services--such as child care--to accomplish these goals.

Sex equity provisions were strengthened in the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act of 1984 (discussed below). Funding set-asides were increased for personnel: of the state allotment, 8.5 percent was to be reserved for the single-parent/homemaker program and 3.5 percent for the sex-equity program. As a result of these provisions, women have enrolled in training for nontraditional occupations in increasing numbers, with gains being most pronounced in the fields of police science technology and scientific data processing (Vetter, 1989). For women who enroll in nontraditional employment training, initial encouragement from teachers and parents and ongoing support from peers and families seem important (Houser & Garvey, 1985). Female enrollments remain high in traditionally female occupations, including child care, but male enrollments in these areas are increasing.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION EFFECTS

Like the effects of the employment and training programs discussed earlier, the effects of vocational education have been measured largely in economic terms. Wilms and Berg (1982) point out that of forty-eight major studies of vocational education, only four even tried to assess the quality or effectiveness of the program. Of those that assess economic outcome, the results are divided. One group of studies seems quite positive if success is measured by continuing education or by job placement. "At the secondary level, vocational high school graduates obtain higher earnings and experience less unemployment upon graduation than do their high school counterparts who do not pursue further education" (Pannell, 1981, p. 53). About 60 percent of vocational education graduates go on to postsecondary education; of those that do not, a majority of find employment in areas related to their vocational training (Mertens, McElwain, Garcia, & Whitmore, 1982). Vocational education seems to stave off high school dropout, though Lotto (1986) suggests there is need for much more research in this area.

Others who are less positive suggest that postsecondary vocational graduates earned no more than high school graduates, except for those in the allied health fields (Somers, 1971). Wilms (1975) found low placement rates for men and women who studied for high-level positions, but fairly high placement rates for women who trained for low-level jobs, suggesting that the match between vocational education and placement may work better at the lower end of the employment spectrum. Along with Wilms's research, Berryman's (1981, 1982) work raises important considerations regarding equity in vocational education. Berryman acknowledges that vocational education breeds tracking and restricts its enrollees from attaining more attractive positions in society. She argues that the critical policy issue is not whether this should occur, but that when it does occur, how the experience should be maximized. Investigating the impacts of differential curricula on outcome, Berryman (1982) concludes that curricula have small effects on enrollees' abilities and preferences. Though specific-content curricula seem to have limited differential effects on economic outcomes, Wilms and Berg (1982) suggest that cooperative vocational education may have some modest impact on earnings and job satisfaction.

For purposes of this review, the effects of vocational education on women is most important. When earnings are compared between vocational and general education graduates, the vocational students fare quite well, particularly women who were trained and placed in business/office areas (Gustman & Steinmeier, 1981; Mertens & Gardner, 1981). However, enrollment in other traditional female occupations, including cosmetology and home economics, had a negative effect on earnings when compared to the earnings of business, academic, and general curriculum graduates after eight years in the work force (Olszewski, 1983). Particularly challenging--because of their inconsistencies--are the findings on the impact of vocational education on young teen mothers. Research findings range from those suggesting that vocational education programs have enabled 88 percent of students to remain enrolled to those indicating that 80 percent of teenage mothers drop out of high school, regardless of the intervention (Vetter, 1989).

Hardly exhaustive, this review suggests that vocational education may represent a worthwhile funding vehicle for our proposed training program and that it may provide clues--particularly regarding cooperative ventures--for the structure of the program. Like the literature on employment and training, it cautions us to be conservative in our outcome expectations.

CHAPTER 9

WELFARE-RELATED EFFORTS

In the opening of his landmark book *Poor Support*, Ellwood (1988) recounts the saga of an Oprah Winfrey show where, after hearing Lawrence Mead's discussion of his volume *Beyond Entitlement* that called for mandatory work for people on welfare, the audience unleashed its venom, not at Mead, but at each other. Women chastised the welfare system, some because it gave too much and some because it provided too little. At the heart of the Oprah show, and at the heart of this discussion, is the saga of America's conflicting values regarding the relationship of welfare, work, and low-income women with children.

When welfare began in this country, no such ambivalence existed. Indeed, the early colonists brought with them the British poor laws that articulated governmental responsibility to the poor. By the time of the American Revolution, most of the colonies aided veterans and their widows. And after the Revolution, veterans' and widows' pensions became ubiquitous throughout the colonies. Widowhood was not shameful; indeed, though expected to work, widows and their children were treated better than other poor. In 1862, the U.S. Congress enacted the first federal income transfer program in the history of the country, which provided benefits to disabled Union men and the survivors of those Union men who died (not necessarily in service). Coverage under this early program was bifurcated and inequitable; Union patriots were amply covered, but Southerners who fought in the war were not eligible.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, public responsibility for the poor was seriously challenged, not because of its inequity, but because the surge of immigrants brought with it increased bigotry. Fearing that the onslaught of new poor Americans would flood the system, social elitists philosophically returned to the constructs of social Darwinism, whereby governmental involvement with the poor was perceived as an interference with the natural law (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986).

Such ideas gave way as the Progressive Era took hold in the early twentieth century. Between 1905 when Wisconsin enacted the first workman's compensation law and 1917 when the United States entered World War I, states enacted social legislation including income taxes, pensions for widows regardless of the cause of the husband's death, industrial and labor laws, and workmen's compensation. The 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children accorded high priority to the home rearing of children, leading to states' enactment of mothers' pension laws, which provided subsidies to otherwise dependent mothers (not simply widows) who provided "suitable" care to children in the home. Such efforts not only legitimized the role of governmental support to broad categories of women but altered expectations that poor women should work outside the home. Such sentiments prevailed throughout the prosperous 1920s and were only strengthened by the Great Depression and its aftermaths: a flood of unemployment and legislation to offset it.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, firmly believing in the power and responsibility of government, enacted thirteen pieces of legislation within the first one hundred days of his presidency. Committed to stabilizing the income security of the nation's individuals, Roosevelt in 1934 appointed a Committee on Economic Security to address the issue, and in 1935 the Social Security Act created five new federal income support programs, among them two social insurance efforts--Old Age Insurance and Unemployment Insurance--and three welfare programs--Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, and Aid to Dependent Children. There was little doubt that the legislative intent of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) was to release "from the wage earning function the person whose natural function is to give her children the physical and affectionate guardianship necessary, not alone to keep them from falling into social misfortune, but more affirmatively to rear them into citizens capable of contributing to society" (U.S. Congressional Budget Office, 1987, p. 7).

The consequences of the ADC legislation were profound. In addition to clarifying eligibility and including children of divorced, never-married, and separated women, the legislation swelled the number of recipients, doubling it in a two-year period. To accommodate recipients' needs and to meet the provisions of the legislation, states established agencies to supervise the program and disperse the payments, thereby institutionalizing welfare and, according to Garfinkel and McLanahan (1986), making the "benefits more like an entitlement than was the case under the mothers' pensions programs" (p. 102). While women with children were "entitled" to cash payments, it should be noted that the legislation's architects were firmly committed to a male work ethic, so that work relief, not cash relief, became the predominant mode of benefit for males, fortifying differences in the societal roles of males and females.

The Great Depression that precipitated the legislation ended when America entered World War II. Following the war, demobilization did not bring with it another anticipated depression, but it did divert American attention from altruistic social concerns to more immediate personal gratifications. As mainstream America focused on suburbia and pink convertibles, ADC policy was recontoured to provide benefits to the custodial parents of dependent children, as well as to the children themselves. Reflecting this change, ADC became Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Rather than withering away, by the end of the 1960s, AFDC had burgeoned; the dependency created by providing dependable supports was thought by many to be an incentive to erratic marriages, inconsistent male support, and further welfare dependence. Gradually the ethos of welfare changed, and it was considered to be a program filled with loafers, cheats, and undesirables.

To combat the growing concern regarding welfare, President John F. Kennedy asked Congress to reduce welfare by redirecting it toward rehabilitation and employment. Employment and training programs were inaugurated, as were supports for child care and transportation. Sadly, the legislation did not achieve its intended effects; costs increased as did welfare dependence. However, the growing civil rights movement, coupled with Kennedy's assassination, created a new sense of urgency concerning policy reform. In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson declared his War on Poverty and, with it, ushered in hosts of new programs to ameliorate the plight of the poor, many of which were intended to increase the market skills of the poor and provide employment opportunities.

Women with children who had previously been exempt from such training efforts were thought to be suitable targets for training and retraining efforts. Part of this change of heart emerged as the result of a broad change in social attitudes regarding the employability of women in general. Work became increasingly common among married women with children, so there seemed to be little ideologically to inhibit employment of the poor. Legitimate questions arose about the appropriateness of classifying poor women with children as unemployable while their middle-class counterparts were gainfully and productively employed. Attitudinal changes were buoyed by several additional factors. Rapidly escalating welfare rolls made many reconsider the wisdom of current welfare policy. In its stead, some advocated the idea of a negative income tax (NIT); others considered the NIT as a supplement to welfare. Though it did not emerge in its pure form, the NIT, coupled with new research suggesting that employment was a realistic and promising vehicle to reduce welfare dependence, led to reforms in welfare thinking and ultimately in welfare policy.

Such sentiments were legislatively reflected in the mid to late 1960s in two ways. First, financial employment incentives were built into the AFDC program itself. Through the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act, income disregards and implicit tax reductions on earnings were instituted. Though not a negative income tax, this provision allowed beneficiaries to keep a part of their earnings. Second, in 1967, Congress authorized the creation of a special employment and training program for AFDC recipients, the Work Incentive Program (WIN).

WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM (WIN)

WIN was originally conceived as a voluntary program to provide support, training, education, and counseling services to adult women with children. The focus changed in 1971 and the program became mandatory for AFDC recipients, except those with children under age six. To receive AFDC benefits, women had to be registered with WIN, and if suitable employment was located and social supports (child care) provided, women had to accept employment or forego full welfare benefits.

Not only did the voluntary aspect of WIN change, but so did its focus from education for long-term employability to training for immediate placement. Practically, this simply did not work. Many women who were referred were not given adequate counseling or support in obtaining employment because the resource allocation to the program was too limited to guarantee adequate supports (Burtless, 1989). Only a small fraction of the WIN registrants actually participated in the program, and inactive or unassigned recipient pools grew. For example, in fiscal year 1978, the national WIN office reported that there were 949,074 unassigned recipients out of 1,553,010 registrants; in 1981, there was an unassigned recipient pool of 826,339 out of 1,566,515 registrants (Gueron, 1989).

Despite these findings, research about the efficacy of WIN has yielded some interesting findings that simultaneously confirm and advance our thinking regarding CETA and JTPA. Like CETA, the major WIN research, conducted by Ketron, Inc. (1980), used a nonexperimental comparison-group design--that is, estimates of the program's effects were obtained by using a comparison group that was not experimentally (randomly) assigned. In the Ketron evaluation, the comparison group consisted of individuals who were eligible to participate but did not elect to do so, perhaps making them different in significant ways (e.g., motivation) from those who elected to participate. Given this caveat, the findings are nonetheless informative. First, WIN was effective in raising the earnings of female participants, particularly those who had no previous occupation. Like the CETA findings, intervention was particularly potent for the most dependent and least employable women, as measured by their prior earnings. Smaller gains accrued to women who had only recently become unemployed or welfare-dependent.

Although the findings indicate that women's earnings increased as a result of WIN, their dependence on welfare did not decrease. Welfare benefits may have actually risen in the experimental group relative to the control or no-treatment group. Reflecting earlier findings, treatment modality did correlate with effects. In the WIN study, the largest gains were found for women with OJT; WIN classroom training was less effective and not significantly different from work experience. Virtually no effect was found for job placement assistance.

NATIONAL SUPPORTED WORK DEMONSTRATION

In an effort to discern what interventions work most effectively, a well-evaluated demonstration effort--considered by many to be the single best study from a scientific point of view (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986, p. 147)--was launched in 1974 in multiple sites throughout the nation. Supported work provided a structured work experience to four groups of individuals with severe and different employment difficulties. The four targeted groups were women who had been on AFDC for at least three years, former addicts, ex-offenders, and young school dropouts. Germane to this analysis, the study found that supported work--which weaned participants from close supervision to individual responsibility in subsidized jobs--was an effective method of helping long-term AFDC recipients enter the labor market while reducing welfare costs to participants. Results were particularly pronounced for those who were the least employable: women who were older, had not completed high school, or had been on welfare for a long time and had no previous work experience. Specifically, supported work programs increased the annual earnings of women without a high school diploma by about $800 per year in comparison to increases of about $300 for similar women with a diploma (Hollister, Kemper, & Maynard, 1984). AFDC women performed significantly better than controls in increased employment and earnings and reduced welfare dependence. Women sought jobs and remained employed even though their earnings were offset by the loss of welfare benefits. Earnings in the treatment group were 46 percent greater than the control group (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation [MDRC], 1980). Moreover, differences held through and beyond the program.

Burtless (1989) points out that these gains for the individuals must also be measured against the costs of the intervention, approximately $10,000 per individual in 1985 dollars--higher than that of most employment and training programs. The MDRC (1980) concluded that the social benefits outweighed the social costs because there were substantial reductions in AFDC and food stamp benefits, about $1,300 per participant. Burtless (1989) correctly notes that because individual earnings increases were often offset by reductions in welfare benefits, the net income gains to participants were actually less than the gains in gross earnings to society.

Others affirm this finding, suggesting that the long-run social benefits of well-constructed work and training programs for mother-only families, though often difficult to quantify, seem to exceed the social costs (Bassi & Ashenfelter, 1986).

OTHER DEMONSTRATION EFFORTS

Employment Opportunity Pilot Project (EOPP)

A product of the Carter administration, the Employment Opportunity Pilot Project (EOPP) was designed to provide welfare recipients and low-income breadwinners employment in public service jobs if they could not find employment in the private sector. As implemented, the program focused on offering intensive job search skills and supports, such as child care and transportation, to low-income mothers. In the fifteen demonstration sites, few of the participants ended up in public service employment, but the project shed light on the importance of support services. The results indicated that EOPP had an effect on the employment status of single mothers in the sites. Despite this finding, there was no evidence that welfare dependency was reduced. It may be that earnings increases were too small to liberate the women from welfare. Alternatively, it may be that the increased support services served as an inducement to stay in the program, thereby increasing entry rates without diminishing departure rates (Mathematica Policy Research, 1983).

Homemaker-Health Aide Demonstrations

Authorized by Congress to provide training and subsidized employment to AFDC recipients, the Homemaker-Health Aide program enrolled volunteers from AFDC in four- to eight-week specialized training sessions for such positions. After intensive training and job placement, trainees were involved in a year's subsidized employment working with the infirm. During this time, Medicaid and support benefits continued.

Evaluation results suggest that this expensive intervention ($10,000 per enrollee) was an effective way of raising welfare participants' earnings. Interestingly, employment and earnings gains continued after subsidized employment ended. Bell (1986) found that in addition to employment and earnings benefits, there was a postprogram decline in AFDC and food stamp participation. This study confirms that a costly intervention can increase earnings and reduce welfare dependency, though it is easier to raise earnings than reduce dependency.

Job Search Assistance Efforts

Given the high costs of supported work experience, it is not surprising that other less costly and less intense interventions were attempted and evaluated. Job search efforts are predicated on the belief that a significant barrier to employment relates to recipients' lack of experience in securing work. Job search training is often done in a group and is comparatively inexpensive, so it became popular in an era of diminished resources. It includes resume preparation, interviewing skills, locating job openings, and peer support. In general, the programs were effective, producing modestly significant gains (Gueron, 1989) but not necessarily improving the quality of jobs in which participants became involved. It appears to be helpful as an ancillary, but not sole, strategy.

1981: THE WATERSHED YEAR FOR WELFARE

During the 1960s and 1970s, the early-twentieth-century belief that women should stay at home with their children eroded for the poor and nonpoor alike. By 1980, a new consensus had gelled, hallmarked most clearly in the landmark victory of Ronald Reagan. Part of a broader agenda that devolved authority to the states and extricated government, particularly the federal government, from involvement in subsidy programs, the welfare system was an early and obvious target for reform. On the campaign trail, Reagan promised to reduce federal domestic expenditures and taxes while increasing military expenditures. No sooner had the administration arrived in the White House than massive reform efforts aimed at reducing the AFDC caseload and increasing the self-sufficiency of recipients took hold.

Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1981

The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1981 brought with it three major changes for AFDC: (1) alterations in the income disregard; (2) the institution of the Community Work Experience Program (CWEP); and (3) the creation of the WIN Demonstration projects.

Alterations in the Disregard

The rationale for the disregard ($30 reduction and 1/3 adjustment in taxable earnings) was to stimulate many AFDC recipients to work, thereby reducing public expenditures for welfare. The reform succeeded in cutting the effective tax on recipients' earnings, but it seemed to have less impact in inducing people to leave welfare. Consequently, the time for utilizing the disregard was curtailed to four months in OBRA. Moreover, OBRA placed a cap on allowable gross income that was so low it precluded many from receiving welfare benefits while holding a job.

Community Work Experience Program (CWEP)

A second reform strategy attempted to build on experimental work conducted in California and Utah, broadly entitled workfare. Workfare, as defined by the GAO (1984), means that "employable public assistance recipients receive benefits only if they 'work off' their grants in unpaid jobs" (p. i). The goal of workfare is to ensure that participants perform work, receive no additional pay for their work, and participate in employment for enough hours at minimum wage to equal the amount of their welfare benefits. In addition to reducing the social costs of welfare, workfare is intended to be beneficial to the community.

Under OBRA, Congress passed legislation that allowed states to implement workfare programs for AFDC recipients. The legislation authorized the creation of the Community Work Experience Program (CWEP) as a means of providing work experience and training for those required to register for the WIN program. Because the legislation was permissive and accorded states great flexibility in crafting a workfare program, many differences developed. The 1984 GAO report, in summarizing these differences, notes that as of February 1983 only sixteen CWEP programs had been established by the states. As stipulated, CWEP participants were working at public-sector job sites and in nonprofit organizations. In eight states, CWEP included other activities such as job search or classroom training. No state had enrolled all eligible AFDC recipients, as stipulated by the legislation, and many states did not require CWEP participants to fully work off the value of their assistance grants. The report concluded that CWEP was too insufficiently implemented to make conclusions regarding the viability of workfare.

However inconclusive the findings, the CWEP effort raised questions that had been unanswered until that point. Could non-make-work jobs that were genuinely useful to society be created and be suitable placements for AFDC recipients? Could welfare rolls be effectively reduced? Would workfare be cost-effective? Would such employment confer greater dignity on individuals and communities (Gueron, 1989)?

Answers to these important questions remain vague because to date our knowledge of workfare is largely predicated on voluntary participants, many of whom do not have preschool children, thereby skewing the cost data. Moreover, large-scale implementation of workfare has not been fully examined.

WIN Demonstration Projects

Noting concerns about the efficacy of the WIN program, OBRA created the authority to establish special WIN Demonstration Projects that would enable states to restructure the organization of their WIN programs. WIN Demonstrations allowed states greater autonomy and flexibility in the operation of their WIN programs, and despite the added funding burden caused by OBRA's one-third cut in federal WIN funds, a great deal of experimentation took place. Furthermore, the comparatively thorough evaluations of some of these projects provide us with numerous lessons and recommendations regarding welfare-to-work program implementation; these evaluations will be considered in detail in the next section.

FAMILY SUPPORT ACT OF 1988

Though well-intended, the efforts above, with a few exceptions, were not seen to represent full-fledged solutions to profound social problems, problems that seemed to demand enhanced attention with each passing year. Whether propelled by reports of excessive government expenditures or chronicles of abrupt increases in rates of homelessness, childhood poverty, or delinquency, America in 1986 was ready to do more than tinker at the edges of its welfare policy. In his 1986 State of the Union message, Reagan announced that his administration would re-examine the welfare system and make recommendations for its reform. Liberals and conservatives joined the bandwagon, fully agreeing--for different reasons--that the nation's welfare system needed to help its recipients become more self-sufficient. A new consensus emerged that welfare should be based upon a social contract that emphasizes the joint obligation of government to individual, and individual to government. Finally, many agreed that more discretion should be accorded states in the execution of their welfare programs.

During 1986, 1987, and 1988, numerous proposals were crafted, and depending on one's perspective, they may have appeared modest or grandiose in scope. In comparison to other initiatives, the Family Support Act (FSA) of 1988 was hardly the major reform that had been touted:

> The passage of the Family Support Act was accompanied by an outpouring of enthusiastic rhetoric and hyperbole to the effect that it represented landmark legislation, a policy revolution and a radically new approach to the welfare problem. A more dispassionate judgment would conclude that the changes made by this legislation were quite modest. (Reischauer, 1989, p. 11)

Such sentiments were echoed by noted scholars Marmor, Mashaw, and Harvey (1990), who expressed particular concerns regarding the inadequacy of funding and warned against thinking that FSA or any welfare intervention would solve the poverty crises in this country.

Despite these cautions, FSA does represent an important improvement in, and departure from, past practice in several ways. First, in underscoring the duality of commitment between government and the individual, the law holds that both parents are under contract for financially supporting their children; hence FSA takes a number of steps to foster child support enforcement and paternity determinations. Second, the custodial parent--usually the mother--must also help support offspring by working if she is able and even if she has young children. In an important departure from past practice, FSA mandates the participation of all mothers with children ages three to five and of teenage mothers who have not completed high school. Third, FSA provides a vehicle for training, supporting, and placing AFDC recipients through the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills program (JOBS). Fourth, FSA provides supports for families over a longer period of time than past did legislation, recognizing the findings from research that attest to the importance of support services for women in training. These transitional supports are designed to cushion the loss of benefits as individuals become ineligible for AFDC owing to their increased earnings. And finally, FSA provides greater flexibility to the states, enabling them to tailor programs to meet current needs.

CHAPTER 10

IMPLICATIONS OF THE EFFORTS

THE RESEARCH REVIEWED

Given the opportunity to plan programs and services at the state level, it is no wonder that agency heads have rushed to better understand the research of the past decades regarding the effects of employment and training programs on AFDC populations.

From the literature on federal, state, and private initiatives, as well as from the employment and training, vocational education, and welfare literatures some common implications emerge from this review and from others (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 1990; Maxfield, 1990).

Implications Regarding Participants

1. Most employment and training programs that have been evaluated have demonstrated significant positive impacts on the earnings of low-income women.

2. Such impacts have not been able to raise significant numbers of women out of poverty.

3. Only a few rigorous evaluations of males have been undertaken, and none has shown a significant positive impact on male earnings (Maxfield, 1990, p. 15).

4. Women who have not completed high school tend to benefit more from employment and training programs (Hollister, Kemper, & Maynard, 1984).

5. Limited prior work experience tends to be associated with greater earnings impacts as a result of employment and training programs.

6. Other things being equal, middle-age women benefit more from employment and training interventions than similar but younger women.

7. Interventions tend to be more effective for those less likely to succeed on their own.

Implications Regarding Instructional Modalities

1. Employment and training programs that incorporate job training and supported work programs have been most effective for AFDC recipients.

2. Job search alone has limited utility in increasing the employment earnings of low-income women.

3. Job search combined with work experience has been somewhat effective in increasing earnings of low-income women.

4. No tested workfare or basic education efforts have generated significant earnings gains for participants.

5. The more disadvantaged require more intensive support services, whereas the more job-ready need less intensive services (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 1990).

Implications Regarding Costs/Benefits

1. Costs fall into three distinct categories: (1) low-cost programs (($1,000 per participant); (2) low- to medium-cost programs ($1,000-$5,000 per participant); and (3) high-cost programs ($5,000-$8,000 per participant) (Maxfield, 1990).

2. Low-cost modalities include job search, work experience; low- to medium-cost modalities include basic education and OJT; high-cost modalities include supported work. Support services have been relatively inexpensive. However, given the increase in numbers of participants with small children, such may not be the case in the future.

3. Benefits have been measured primarily in terms of economic gain to participants. More expensive modalities tend to be more effective.

4. When benefits are measured in terms of dollar investments, the opposite is true. Job-search assistance is the most cost-effective; supported work is the least cost-effective.

5. Benefits to children and families have not been adequately assessed.

6. From the participants and the social perspective, supported work--though the most expensive--is the most cost-effective training modality (Maxfield, 1990).

Limitations

The above implications, though representing an accumulation of research, need to be cautiously interpreted. From the substantive perspective, there are important gaps in the data. For example, we do not have solid information on the costs and costs-benefits of basic education programs, so it is impossible to factor findings about this modality into our conclusions. In addition, women with children ages three to five are underrepresented in much of the literature because, until FSA, they were exempt from work force participation. Now that their participation is required, their unique training needs make generalization of the scant research inappropriate. In most cases reported herein, data were collected in demonstration programs where investments had been heavy. Even if comparable investments were made (which they are unlikely to be), the transferability of findings from demonstration to nondemonstration programs is questionable. Finally, these studies have tended to look at earnings gains without fully addressing who really gains. Broader attention to more diverse outcomes and a more explicit focus on societal, community, and familial benefits is necessary.

From the methodological perspective, much more confidence could be placed in the results if random assignment had been used with greater frequency. Second, there needs to be far more research done to ascertain the degree to which the programs being evaluated were fully implemented. Third, not only do we need to envision outcomes far more broadly, but we need to develop outcome measures that have substantial validity and reliability. Fourth, many evaluations are not sufficiently long term to enable conclusions to be drawn regarding durational effects of interventions; consequently, longitudinal data should be systematically collected, even if only on a subset of studies.

Finally, and somewhat ironically, though great attention has been paid to the costs of these initiatives and to their salary benefits individually, more work needs to discern the real costs to society of not providing such programs. Information is desperately needed regarding which program elements are cost-effective for whom over what periods of time. Finally, harking back to Burtless's warnings, we must decide on how these gains will be distributed among welfare recipients and society. Keeping societal gains high will act as a disincentive to voluntary participation in these programs and keep them stigmatized. Keeping individual gains high may encourage participation but not reduce welfare dependency.

Understanding the trade-offs, both substantively and economically, must occupy next-stage studies if next-generation practices are to be maximally fruitful.

LINKING RESEARCH AND PRACTICE ACROSS THE STRANDS

As indicated in the opening paragraph of this section, efforts to educate, train, and employ low-income women transcend federal departments, individual initiatives, and inventive demonstration programs. In some of the programs cited above, funds from one stream were used to support training efforts in another. For example, vocational education dollars routinely are linked with JTPA efforts. The advent of FSA with its JOBS component has made both the need to link and the opportunity to do so more immediate. Yet despite common sense and idiosyncratic efforts, linkage across programs remains far less prevalent than one might expect, given the commonality of intent.

The reasons for the lack of integration are steeped in the policy-making history and apparatus of this nation. With different committees of Congress authorizing different programs (Finance/Ways and Means for WIN and Labor for Title II of JTPA), different agencies administering them, and few incentives for linkage, programs with similar goals proliferate. Moreover, our demonstration or planned experimentation approach to policy making means that successful programs are often regarded as the purview of a single agency and then grafted on to it, when and if successful. Agency autonomy, rather than collaboration, is rewarded.

While characterizing many domains of governmental activity, the linkage issue has surfaced again in the human service arenas in general, and around education, employment, and training issues in particular. The press for collaboration has been so strong that it emerged as one of the three major recommendations of the National JTPA Advisory Committee (U.S. Department of Labor, 1989). Noting that JTPA, the Family Support Act, and the Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act all require grantees to engage in collaborative efforts, the report recommended concrete strategies and domains for collaborations. The potential for JTPA and welfare linkage is especially strong. Building on an array of model initiatives already underway, the report recommends that differences in financing, governance, and performance measures be addressed. By enhancing the coordinating role of state agencies, providing collaborative incentives, and adhering to common principles, such collaborative efforts are more likely to be successful. Within the JTPA/Eduction linkage, several areas of opportunity were identified: year-round programming for dropout prevention, transition to work, and alternative learning opportunities.

Though specific mention was not made of training low-income women for employment in child care, the principles embodied in this report reflect the major finding of this review--namely, that effective training for low-income persons, while feasible, is complex and costly and demands the tenacity of commitment and structural supports afforded by cross-agency collaboration.

SECTION III

THE PROGRAMS: TRAINING AND PARENTING

In this section, we turn our attention from the trainees themselves (Section I) and from major federal efforts to enhance training (Section II) to a more thorough discussion of specific training and parenting programs, their differences and similarities, and lessons to be extracted from them.

With a greater focus on implementation lessons, we first look at training programs that have trained low-income women for employment in general (chapter 11) and then at programs that train low-income women for positions in child care specifically (chapter 12). We next provide a brief overview of the major thinking on the differences and similarities between teaching and parenting (chapter 13). Finally, we turn our focus to parents and programs to support them. In chapter 14, we discuss parenting programs, illuminating the definitional difficulties with this label. We turn to an examination of forms of supports to parents, including two-generation and literacy efforts (chapter 15). We conclude the section by discussing implications germane to the implementation of the training/parenting program.

CHAPTER 11

EMPLOYMENT-BASED TRAINING IN ACTION

Thus far, we have examined broad national employment and training efforts. In this chapter, we turn our attention to general employment-based training programs from which we can garner many practical implementation lessons. These programs, initiated by private organizations and the federal and state governments (particularly following the 1981 OBRA welfare reforms), represent an increase in concern for the economic and social well-being of low-income women over the past decades. Their evaluations raise many issues unique to the training of low-income women and provide guidelines for future program development.

The first section of this chapter will briefly describe the training programs and materials reviewed. In the second section, implementation lessons regarding the types and methods of training services will be extracted from these materials, and their implications for our training project will be examined.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

The programs reviewed for this chapter fall into two categories: those that are primarily government initiatives and those that are primarily private initiatives. The government initiatives category consists of state-initiated OBRA WIN Demonstrations (mentioned in the previous chapter) and pre-OBRA welfare-to-work programs. In addition to evaluations of individual programs, research organizations have analyzed government welfare-to-work initiatives in groups in order to draw out common themes and implementation lessons. It should be noted that only a selection of government initiatives is considered, so this chapter should not be thought of as an exhaustive review even of those programs that provide training for low-income women.

Private initiatives, forming the second category, are in many ways similar to the government programs; they often used many of the same service providers and funding sources. However, private programs were initiated by nongovernmental agencies (introducing outside perspectives to the policy debate), were often targeted at a more circumscribed participant population, and included funding from philanthropic organizations. As such, they were usually able to provide more extensive services and break more new ground than government initiatives, and their evaluations provide many valuable implementation lessons regarding the provision of training to low-income women.

Government Initiatives

The Employment and Training Choices Program (ET Choices)

Of the WIN Demonstrations reviewed in this chapter, Massachusetts's ET Choices program was among the most comprehensive in terms of service provision, and many evaluations provide extensive and useful information. Four elements are considered to have been the keys to its comparative success (Nightingale, Wissoker, Burbridge, Bawden, & Jeffries, 1991). First, as suggested by its name, the program put a premium on allowing participants freedom of choice on a number of levels. The sole requirement, to register, was dictated by national WIN policy; beyond that, participation was not mandatory, and participants were allowed to choose from an array of modalities, occupational fields, and services. Second, all employment, training, and education services were provided off-site, by outside, contracting organizations. By contracting off-site, the program attempted to avoid duplicating services that were already available and to tap into other funding sources for training. Third, ET Choices had a decided commitment to satisfy both participants (who had to be attracted to the voluntary program) and employers (who had to be convinced that the program was producing high-quality workers).

The fourth and perhaps most significant reason for the success of ET Choices was that it was extremely well funded owing to Massachusetts's willingness to shoulder the added financial responsibility following OBRA's one-third cut in federal WIN funding. Specifically, in 1985, when WIN Demonstrations overall received 60 percent of their funding from the federal government, Massachusetts paid for 65 percent of the ET Choices budget itself (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1988), and in 1988 the state provided 75 percent of the $78 million budget (Nightingale et al., 1991). This financial strength enabled ET Choices to provide extremely comprehensive training and support services, with a large portion of the budget going to child care (Nightingale et al., 1991).

The Greater Avenues for Independence Program (GAIN)

With one sixth of the nation's welfare caseload within its borders, California launched the largest of all WIN Demonstrations--the GAIN program (Riccio, Goldman, Hamilton, Martinson, & Orenstein, 1989). GAIN was similar to ET Choices in a number of respects. First, both programs provided a wide range of education, training, and support services, with a strong focus on remedial education. Second, approximately one half of each program's budget was spent on child care, evincing the programs' high prioritization of this support service (Nightingale, 1989). Third, an attempt was made in each program to customize services to individual needs, although GAIN was less successful in this respect because of certain training sequence requirements (Werner, 1989). The usual sequence of modalities began with either remedial education or job search assistance, and continued with work experience, on-the-job training (OJT), and/or job-skill training. Unlike ET Choices, GAIN required a certain group of eligible participants (mostly AFDC recipients with school-age children) to remain in the program as long as they were receiving welfare. A system of increasing levels of persuasion, from verbal to financial, was used to maintain participation. To make it an equitable deal, a contract between the county and each participant was drawn up; in return for program participation, the county promised to provide all necessary program services. Volunteers could participate in GAIN as well (Riccio et al., 1989).

Training Opportunities in the Private Sector Program (TOPS)

A state initiative geared to prepare welfare recipients for private-sector employment, the TOPS program was only one element of many in Maine's WIN Demonstration. A small-scale, voluntary program targeted at long-term AFDC recipients with little employment experience, TOPS involved a set sequence of prevocational training (personal development, job seeking, and employment expectations), work experience, and OJT. Funding restrictions gave rise to experimentation with grant diversion, in which AFDC recipients' grants were used to help subsidize OJT; this method proved successful on a small scale. Not much attention was given to support services; in fact, those in need of child care and health care were often simply denied access to the program (Auspos, Cave, & Long, 1988).

The WIN Quality Training Demonstration Project

In addition to post-OBRA state efforts, federal government-initiated programs have also explored new methods of training low-income women for employment. Between 1978 and 1983, the U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration conducted a study of the effectiveness of high-level technical training for women on welfare. A two-year program was conducted at two technical institutes to prepare participants for electronics careers in the private sector. It was acknowledged that only a small portion of the WIN population would have the education needed to participate in the training; entrants had completed an average of 11.5 years of school. Except for support services and optional pretraining remedial education, the program mainstreamed participants as much as possible; they studied alongside mainstream students and followed the same curriculum. The program was evaluated by Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. (White, Weidman, & Sharp, 1983).

Multiprogram Analyses

In order to draw out common themes and lessons, organizations such as the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., and the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) have conducted analyses of groups of government welfare-to-work initiatives. These analyses have investigated the employment and training field at a level untouched by single-program evaluations and provide much insight relevant to our training project.

Private Initiatives

In addition to government welfare-to-work programs, private initiatives have done much to expand the field of employment training knowledge and have provided valuable nongovernmental perspectives on the issues. Targeted at a more narrowly defined population than most of the above government efforts, the following programs provide a good deal of insight into the special needs of low-income women.

The Minority Female Single Parent (MFSP) Demonstration

Conducted between 1982 and 1988, the Rockefeller Foundation's MFSP Demonstration explored the effectiveness of a comprehensive program of education, training, and support services to help low-income single minority mothers gain private-sector employment at better than minimum wage. The demonstration was designed to fill in numerous gaps in information concerning the training of this population. First, owing to participant exemption rules, little was known about the training of women with children under six years of age. Second, there was a knowledge gap between the use of low-cost (EOPP and WIN) and very high-cost (Homemaker-Health Aide Demonstrations and Supported Work) training programs for low-income single minority mothers; little was known about the effectiveness of intermediate-cost comprehensive programs for this population. Third, although CETA had used classroom training extensively, methodological flaws in CETA evaluations (noted in the previous chapter) render this information somewhat unreliable (Gordon & Burghardt, 1990).

Community-based organizations (CBOs) in four cities (Atlanta, San Jose, Providence, and Washington, D.C.) were chosen as site sponsors and instructed to develop training programs within the confines of certain guidelines: the target population (low-income, minority, single mothers) and the quality of job placements (private-sector, at above minimum wage) were specified, as well as the types of services modalities. Going beyond the well-documented modalities of job search, work experience, and OJT, the MFSP Demonstration provided a comprehensive array of services: basic remedial education, job-skill training, general employability training (basic skill upgrading, motivation, decision-making skills, and job market orientation), counseling, and child care assistance and other support services.

In order to provide data useful to policy makers, a complex demonstration was launched, with its yearly average training operations budget of $860,000 per site comparable to many JTPA training programs (Handwerger & Thornton, 1988). One half of the demonstration budget, including training operations, was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation with the expectation that site sponsors would find matching grants. There were thirty-one funding sources tapped among the four sites to complement the Rockefeller monies, including WIN and JTPA at the national level, individual PICs, corporate donations, public school systems, and the CBOs themselves (Handwerger & Thornton, 1988). The demonstration evaluation was conducted by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., under a contract with the Rockefeller Foundation.

New Chance and Project Redirection

Over the past decade, the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) has initiated, coordinated, and evaluated two comprehensive training programs for low-income, teenage mothers with little education. The need for information on preparing this population for employment is underscored by the findings of research on the lives of these young women. Moore and Burt (1982) found that in the majority of all AFDC-receiving households, the mother had her first child as a teenager. In addition, Ellwood (1986) found that one third of teen parents starting AFDC could be expected to receive benefits for over ten years. Though Project Redirection and its successor, New Chance, trained women with lower education levels than we are planning to target, they illustrate the importance of providing a comprehensive, carefully crafted program for low-income, teenage mothers in particular and low-income women with children in general.

Between 1980 and 1982, Project Redirection served 805 teens, providing education, job skills, parenting skills, and life management skills, as well as trying to delay subsequent pregnancies and increase the health of mother and child. Four site sponsors (a YMCA and children's and ethnic societies) were instructed to act primarily as clearinghouses, referring participants to already existing service providers. Funding was provided at the national level by the Ford Foundation, the WIN office, and the Department of Labor, and matching grants at the local level came from a range of governmental and private sources (Polit, Quint, & Riccio, 1988).

The pilot phase of New Chance, conducted from 1986 to 1988, was based in large part on its predecessor. It was designed to address the issue, "how best to respond to the needs of disadvantaged young mothers and their children, and thereby forestall the perpetuation of intergenerational poverty and dependency" (Quint & Guy, 1989, p. 1). Six site sponsors, chosen primarily for their experience in training youth or teen mothers, were a technical college, a consortium of training agencies, and a variety of CBOs. In contrast to

Project Redirection, services were provided primarily on-site by the sponsoring agency. In addition to being comprehensive, training lasted for up to eighteen months, and postemployment counseling and support services continued for another six to twelve months. Funding was provided by an array of foundations and agencies, as well as sponsors' regular sources, such as JTPA and welfare agencies (Quint & Guy, 1989). New Chance was continued after the pilot phase, and evaluations of this continuation are presently in press (Quint, Fink, & Rowser).

IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

The evaluations and analyses of the above programs raise many issues germane to the training of low-income women (especially those with young children). These issues include locus of service provision, sequence of training modalities, type of curriculum, use of community volunteers, heterogeneity of participant population, training for nontraditional and high-technology occupations, parenting skills training, voluntary versus mandatory participation, recruitment and intake, job placement, support services, transitional support services, and program atmosphere. On some issues there has been major debate; in these cases, both perspectives are presented, and a recommendation based on the literature is made. Other issues have either found unanimous favor in the literature or been implemented on only a small scale, and consequently the lessons learned are presented without contest.

A central theme found throughout these implementation lessons is the necessity that a program provide more than simple job search assistance and work experience. Low-income women usually face many profound barriers to employment and self-sufficiency: more than simply lacking job skills, they often need remedial education, psychological counseling, and support services such as child care and transportation assistance. Programs that target this population must be designed to help these women achieve major changes in their lives.

Locus of Service Provision

Program services can be provided in one of two ways. The first, on-site provision, places most or all activities and services under a single roof or organization. The California site sponsor of the MFSP Demonstration, the Center for Employment Training, is a prime example of an on-site sponsor, providing all services from education and training to child care at the same location. In the second method, off-site provision, the site sponsor agency contracts out to a network of other service providers; remedial education might be conducted by one organization, counseling by another, and so forth.

The first argument for on-site service provision is the facilitation of oversight; staff are better able to ensure that services are high quality and participants are in fact getting what they need when all services are co-located (Polit et al., 1988). Second, on-site service provision reduces participant attrition by facilitating access to services. Traveling to multiple sites requires extra time, effort, and money, and often leads to increased dropout rates. Research affirms this; participants in on-site programs are more likely to receive all services and remain in the program (Hershey, 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989). Third, on-site service provision fosters a familiar, homey atmosphere and strong participant-staff relations, both of which also reduce attrition and contribute to program success (Hershey, 1988; Polit et al., 1988). Finally, a consistent program philosophy can be maintained when all staff know each other and can meet regularly, as occurred in the New York site of the New Chance pilot (Quint & Guy, 1989).

Alternatively, the primary reasons for providing services at multiple locations are to avoid duplicating already existing services and to tap into the funding sources of other service providers, for example, JTPA training funds and Pell Grants (Nightingale et al., 1991; Polit et al., 1988). Moreover, by contracting off-site, participants can be trained in a broader array of fields than is likely to be afforded in any one setting. Hershey (1988) points out that offering a wide range of fields can help ensure a successful match of occupational field with a participant's interests and abilities. Also, a wide range of fields allows the site sponsor to weather fluctuations in labor market demands better (Hershey, 1988; White et al., 1983).

Given the indications from the research that on-site service provision is a better method for ensuring that the needs of participants are met, and given the multiple needs of low-income women, on-site provision of as many services as possible seems to be the preferable method for our training program. In further support of on-site provision, a 1988 GAO report provides some enlightening background information on the success of ET Choices off-site policy. The report suggests that the policy's success was due primarily to ET's ability to foot the bill itself for many off-site services, thus making ET contracts extremely appealing to off-site providers. This point raises the question of the willingness of off-site agencies to provide services if they will not be receiving compensatory funds from the site sponsor.

Sequence of Training Modalities

Many of the programs reviewed included remedial education (Adult Basic Education, GED certification, English as a Second Language) in order to increase the general employability and trainability of participants. There was a good deal of experimentation, however, with the sequence of remedial education and job-skills training: was it better for job skills to follow the remedial component, or for the two to be conducted simultaneously?

An advantage of the latter, integrated program was that the curricula of the remedial and job-skills components could be linked, thereby helping participants to see the relevance of remedial education to employability. In their evaluation of the MFSP Demonstration, Gordon and Burghardt (1990) argue that in sites with sequential programs, in which job skills were taught after the remedial component, participants often became disenchanted with the program. Wanting only to improve their employability, they viewed the hours spent on basic math and English skills as wasted time. On the other hand, an integrated system (as was used at the California site) taught remedial skills within the context of employment training; for example, to improve writing skills participants learned to write a business letter. This linking of the two components, it is argued, made the importance of remedial education clearer and increased a participant's likelihood of staying in the program (Gordon & Burghardt, 1990). An evaluation of California's GAIN program also recommends an integrated curriculum in order to clarify the relevance of remedial education to employability and to reduce the problems with attrition experienced in the program's sequential system (Riccio et al., 1989).

In experimenting with both integrated and sequential curriculum systems, the New Chance program raised a new issue, further complicating the debate. Although the possibility of losing interest and stagnating in the remedial component of a sequential curriculum was acknowledged, this danger was seen as being outweighed by a participant's need to take time and become acquainted with her career field options. So that participants could review their options and choose a job type that matched their interests and abilities, job-skills training was postponed for up to five months. During this time, participants could prepare for their GED certificate, which is often required for entry in off-site job skills training organizations (Quint et al., in press).

The above arguments for training sequence types point out the benefits of both types and describe a trade-off between being able to choose the right field for job-skills training (sequential system) and maintaining interest in remedial education (integrated system). A final decision on this issue of when to begin job-skills training would seem to depend largely on the program in question; if a program offers a wide range of careers from which to choose, job-skills training might have to be substantially postponed to allow a careful review of the options. One final caveat is that integrated systems often work only when both remedial and job-skills components are provided on-site; off-site job-skills trainers often have strict prerequisites regarding remedial skill levels (e.g., a GED requirement), thus ruling out a concurrent, integrated program (Quint and Guy, 1989).

Competency-Based Curriculum with Open Entry/Exit

Research points out the importance not only of what components are offered and how they are ordered but of how well low-income women deal with different approaches to instruction. In general, flexibility in the pace of instruction seems to be an important consideration. Evaluations of the MFSP Demonstration have revealed a method of ensuring this flexibility (Gordon & Burghardt, 1990; Hershey, 1988). The California site incorporated a self-paced, competency-based curriculum, in which participants progressed at their own learning speed. In addition to eliminating the stigmatization of slow learners, this system allowed instructors to act more like informal coaches, and the more advanced students to help instruct newer program participants. To provide further program flexibility, an open-entry/exit system of program participation allowed for program entry when the applicant, rather than the program, was ready. At the other end, it eliminated any program deadline and allowed as much time as was needed to finish training; a drawback, however, was that open-exit made it difficult to predict when a spot would become vacant (Gordon & Burghardt, 1990). Given the apparent similarity between the target populations of the MFSP Demonstration and our training project, a competency-based, open-entry/exit system should be seriously considered in the development of our project.

Community Volunteers

In order to provide low-income teen mothers with positive role models and friends to help them through the program, Project Redirection drew on the services of volunteer women from the community. Called the Community Woman Component, volunteer women of all ages and economic levels (but a majority of whom had high school diplomas) took a short training course, and then served as mentors, role models, friends, and counselors to program participants. This component was considered successful, but two pitfalls are noted in the evaluation. First, a poor mentor-participant relationship could spoil a participant's interest in the entire program. Second, there was a high transition rate among the community women, which hindered the establishment of strong relationships. A suggested solution to the latter pitfall is to provide the community women with a warm, social atmosphere in order to get them more emotionally involved in the program and more eager to provide their services (Polit et al., 1988). In summary, though potentially very beneficial, the inclusion of such community volunteer services would have to be very carefully coordinated.

Heterogeneous Participant Population

Many of the recent welfare-to-work initiatives have been interested in targeting only those most in need of services. Some research has suggested that training the most unskilled and uneducated in isolation, however, may deny this group certain benefits of being trained alongside the more employment-ready (Friedlander, 1988; White et al., 1983). Being mainstreamed with non-low-income students or simply training alongside those with more skills and experience may actually serve as a motivating force for those with more profound employment barriers. The stigma of being segregated as unskilled and uneducated may be reduced, and as a consequence, participants' self-esteem could be raised.

Nontraditional and High-Technology Occupations

In the preceding chapter it was noted that welfare-to-work programs have not had much success in actually moving people out of poverty. This may be due to the fact that participants, especially low-income women, were generally trained for low-paying service and clerical positions. In order to step out of this tradition of training for poverty, some programs have attempted to jump-start the careers of low-income women by training them for jobs in traditionally male career fields or for those that may require extensive technical skills. These jobs, with their higher wages, job security, fringe benefits, and opportunities for advancement, gave low-income women a better shot at economic self-sufficiency than the majority of placements in more traditional training programs.

The New York sponsor of New Chance was governed by a feminist philosophy of self-empowerment. In the spirit of this philosophy, women were trained in the better-paying, male-dominated field of building construction. Preliminary placement data indicated that the program had had the desired effect: while wages of employed participants from the other sites fell in the \$3.64 to \$4.80 an hour range, the average New York site wage was \$7.27 (Quint & Guy, 1989).

The U.S. Department of Labor's WIN Quality Training Program was another attempt to jump-start the careers of low-income women. Outlined above in the program descriptions section, the program had a graduation rate of 29 percent; though this seems low, it was actually comparable to the rate of mainstream students, and it demonstrates the high trainability of select AFDC recipients. Placement rates were also fairly impressive (71 percent), and the average annual income even more so (\$12,883 versus \$7,634 for female WIN placements overall). The evaluation concludes that such programs may be worthwhile if combined with sufficient support services (including transitional support services to bridge the gap between training and employment) and targeted toward the more qualified end of the low-income spectrum (White et al., 1983).

Parenting Skills Training

As low-income women with young children have been involved in training programs in ever greater numbers, and as programs have taken a more comprehensive approach to addressing the multiple needs of these women, some consideration has been given to increasing parenting skills. Although the issue of parenting skills training is given our complete attention in chapter 14, we presently turn to a brief review of parenting components of programs reviewed in this chapter.

The Project Redirection and New Chance programs both incorporated substantial parenting skills training components (Polit et al., 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989). Participants were instructed in child development and nurturing practices, as well as life management skills (e.g., maintaining a household budget), which aimed to reduce child-rearing-related stress (Quint & Guy, 1989). In addition, the New Chance evaluation recommends that on-site child care centers be incorporated as parenting laboratories for mothers to practice their new skills (Quint & Guy, 1989).

The five-year evaluation of Project Redirection found that parenting skills training, in addition to being the most popular program component among participants, had substantial impacts on both mothers and their children. Although women in the program scored at the same level as the control group on the HOME parenting skills scale, there was evidence that program participants were providing a better, more nurturing home environment for their children, and they were more likely to place their children in a Head Start program. In addition, the children of women in the program scored better than controls on both a receptive-vocabulary test and a problem-behavior scale (Polit et al., 1988).

Voluntary Versus Mandatory Participation

In the past decade, the trend of mandatory welfare-to-work program participation (e.g., the WIN program) has been substantially challenged by the success of many voluntary programs. These experiments, especially the influential ET Choices, have provided evidence that welfare recipients do not necessarily have to be coerced to work, and have won a great deal of support for the voluntary system (Hershey, 1988; National Coalition on Women, Work and Welfare Reform, 1986; Nightingale et al., 1991; Polit et al., 1988; Pope, 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989; White et al., 1983). The primary argument for allowing participants a choice is that it represents their first step in gaining independence from public assistance and increasing self-confidence. Choice gives participants the benefit of the doubt that they want to work and be self-sufficient, and they tend to respond positively and eagerly.

Though it has gained much support, the issue of voluntary participation is necessarily accompanied by the possibility of increased program attrition. Although applicants' intentions may be sincere, unforeseen developments in their lives may cause participants to exit programs prematurely. In order to limit attrition while still fostering a sense of independence and self-determination, research suggests that a delicate balance must be struck between providing a supportive structure of rules and expectations and increasing individual responsibility. The best balance seems to be to clearly state program participation and attendance expectations in orientation sessions and stress their importance for success, but to allow those who break the rules a second chance and to sanction only the worst repeat offenders (Quint & Guy, 1989; White et al., 1983). Another suggestion is the use of incentives, related to the improvement of participants' lives (e.g., entitlements to better housing), to reward exemplary attendance records (Quint & Guy, 1989).

Although voluntary programs seem to have been the program method of choice, some attention must be given to the idea of mandatory programs. The primary argument for mandatory participation given by case workers in a sampling of mandatory welfare-to-work programs was that some members of the AFDC recipient population needed an external motivating force, an extra shove, in order to enter training programs (GAO, 1988). This argument is based on the assumption, not necessarily disproved by the success of voluntary programs, that some welfare recipients would rather remain on welfare. This question of motivation levels is addressed in a Maryland Department of Human Resources study on the opinions of mandatory WIN participants (Boeckmann, 1984). The study reaches the conclusion that motivation to participate in welfare-to-work programs is directly related to recipient perceptions of the various future benefits of such participation. Promises of a higher-than-welfare income are not sufficient. Potential trainees must also believe that their postprogram jobs will have a degree of permanence and security comparable to that of welfare. The recruitment staff at ET Choices was aware of this fact and went to great lengths to ensure that placements were in high-quality jobs and that the program was marketed as a reliable path to secure employment. The strategy worked, and ET Choices enjoyed an extremely high rate of voluntary AFDC participation (in fiscal year 1987, 50 percent of AFDC adults participated in an active component of the program) (Nightingale et al., 1991).

Given the above discussion, it appears that members of a program's target population need not be forced into training, provided that the program can ensure a reasonable chance of improving their lives. This freedom of choice may indeed be the first step in a participant's journey to self-sufficiency and should be included in our training project.

Recruitment and Intake

Especially in voluntary programs, where applicants must be attracted to the program, an aggressive, well-targeted, and swift recruitment and intake strategy plays a crucial role in program success. First, through aggressive recruitment, voluntary programs have shown the ability to recruit proportionate numbers of the least employable population groups. In order to sell the program, staff have used a variety of methods including enclosing messages in AFDC check envelopes (Gordon & Burghardt, 1990), giving talks in local CBOs (Quint & Guy, 1989), and making personal phone calls to AFDC recipients (Nightingale et al., 1991). Through these methods, voluntary programs seem to have recruited disadvantaged participants with comparatively high levels of motivation to succeed (Riccio et al., 1989; Werner, 1989).

Second, recruitment must be well targeted at the intended population in order to avoid "creaming" only the most qualified and employable candidates. Program regulations concerning targeting must be very clearly defined to protect against unsanctioned creaming by program staff. Case managers at a number of WIN Demonstrations (including the exemplary ET Choices), as well as the comprehensive and narrowly targeted MFSP Demonstration, admitted to screening out candidates they personally felt were untrainable because of severe emotional and motivational problems or poor qualifications (GAO, 1988; Hershey, 1988). There may well be truth to the idea that certain applicants could be so disadvantaged or poorly motivated that they would not be able to benefit from a program's services. The above indications from the research suggest, however, that case workers ought to be provided with screening guidelines specific enough that they can apply to any candidate in any situation, thus avoiding informal, unauthorized creaming.

Third, once an acceptable applicant pool has been tapped, there is still a danger of losing applicants. An MFSP evaluation recommends against requiring any intimidating skills testing or classification, which could cause applicants to quit the program even before training had begun; this strategy might be possible in only a competency-based program, though, where initial skill levels are not needed for placement (Hershey, 1988). Pretraining attrition is also possible if training does not commence soon after enrollment; both the open-entry/exit system and frequent course starts are possible solutions to this problem (Hershey, 1988).

Job Placement

Welfare-to-work programs have developed a number of successful methods of finding job openings and filling them with program graduates. ET Choices and the MFSP Demonstration placed a great deal of importance on marketing participants to potential employers (Hershey, 1988; Nightingale et al., 1991). Marketing requires that job placement staff make a rule of referring only qualified individuals for employment, thereby building and maintaining a strong reputation for the program as a producer of competent workers. Another method of marketing is through the establishment of close community relations; advisory councils of employers from the community have proven very helpful in spreading the word about training programs, as well as collecting information on job openings and fluctuations in labor market demands (Hershey, 1988). Program training components have also led to job placements. One of the stipulations of OJT is that trainees are hired as unsubsidized employees following successful completion of the component (Auspos et al., 1988; Freedman, Bryant, & Cave, 1988). In addition, training internship sites have been tapped for permanent employment opportunities (Quint & Guy, 1989). Program graduates have also helped each other to find employment: job clubs can provide an arena for sharing information on openings (Quint & Guy, 1989; Riccio et al., 1989).

Job quality, not just numbers of placements, should be a central concern of job placement staff. As noted above, some research has shown that jobs must be at least as beneficial and secure as welfare in order to convince welfare recipients to pursue them (Boeckmann, 1984). To this end, ET Choices set job quality standards regarding wages and duration of employment, thereby ensuring a higher average level of job quality; in fiscal year 1987, 68 percent of placements were in jobs meeting these standards (Werner, 1989). Programs that trained for nontraditional and high-tech jobs (which are usually in the private sector) have illustrated a way of placing graduates into more assuredly well-paying positions (Quint & Guy, 1989; White et al., 1983).

Support Services

Most low-income women have employment barriers that remedial education, skills training, and job placement alone cannot eliminate. The provision of support services, such as child care, transportation assistance, personal and peer counseling, health care (for both adult and child), and life management skills training, has been found to be crucial to the elimination of barriers and to the success of any welfare-to-work program (Campbell, Breitmayer & Ramey, 1986; Hershey, 1988; National Coalition on Women, Work and Welfare Reform, 1986; Nightingale et al., 1991; Polit et al., 1988; Pope, 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989).

Such services do not come cheaply. As noted above, approximately one half of ET Choices funds went to child care (Nightingale et al., 1991). Simply providing huge amounts of money for child care, however, cannot be expected to eliminate this barrier to both program participation and employment. The Child Care Referral Options report from the MFSP Demonstration found that in all site cities but one, there simply weren't enough child care slots available for all women interested in the training program (Handwerger, Strain, &

Thornton, 1989). This finding points out a critical need for child care slots, in addition to the money to pay for child enrollment, in order for child care support services to be provided in sufficient number.

An argument is made in the literature for providing child care on the training site (Hershey, 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989). Where such care was provided, parents remarked that they enjoyed stopping in during the day to see their children, and they saw the service as an important element of the overall program. In addition, such on-site centers may be used for hands-on practice of skills learned in parenting classes (Quint & Guy, 1989). However, when on-site care is not sufficient or possible, a voucher system similar to that used in ET Choices appears to be best. The voucher system allows a much wider choice of licensed centers and family day care than does a contract system, thereby increasing participants' likelihood of finding a care provider to their liking (Werner, 1989).

Each participant has a unique composite of barriers preventing her from entering the work force. Personal counseling provides individuals with assistance to identify and remove those barriers and has proven necessary to ensure participants a chance at financial independence (Hershey, 1988; Polit et al., 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989). Barriers needing specialized attention beyond the program's scope (e.g., substance addiction) could be referred to other service providers (Hershey, 1988). In addition, peer counseling groups were used successfully in Project Redirection to help solve participants' personal and relationship problems (Polit et al., 1988).

Transitional Support Services

In addition to in-program support, transitional support services, which continue to assist participants after completion of the education and training components, have been cited as an absolutely necessary conclusion to the training process (Hershey, 1988; Pope, 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989; Werner, 1989; White et al., 1983). Without this bridge to carry them over to job benefits (ideally) or to the ability to pay for needed services themselves, graduates may remain unemployed, no better off than before training. Transitional child care and health care are considered especially important in making the leap to self-sufficiency.

Program Atmosphere

Some reference has been made above to the importance of creating a nurturing and familiar atmosphere in welfare-to-work programs, but since this concept has served as an overarching philosophy of many comprehensive programs, it bears repeating. Comprehensive programs for the least employable assist participants in making major changes in their lives, changes possible only in a warm, familiar, nonthreatening environment. Research has stressed the need to make participants feel at home and at ease (Hershey, 1988; Polit et al., 1988; Quint & Guy, 1989; Werner, 1989). As noted above, however, a balance must be struck between support and the fostering of independence. A nurturing environment is necessary, but participants should at the same time be instilled with a sense of self-determination and responsibility in order to prepare them for their future self-sufficiency and independence (Quint & Guy, 1989).

IMPLEMENTATION LESSONS

This chapter recounts what the evaluations and analyses of past employment and training efforts have to say about serving low-income women. The literature raises many issues that are unique to the training of this population and provides us with numerous concrete guidelines regarding program development.

1. On-site provision of as many program services as possible is preferable to off-site provision.

2. As soon as a participant has chosen an appropriate career field, job-skills training should be added to and integrated with basic skills training (run concurrently, with related subject matter).

3. An open-entry/exit, competency-based curriculum provides great flexibility and allows for a variety of participants' learning speeds.

4. Volunteers from the community can serve a number of roles in facilitating and enriching participants' progression through training.

5. Training a wide range of skill and employability levels in the participant population may have a positive motivational effect on the more disadvantaged.

6. Training low-income women for jobs with fringe benefits, career opportunities, and higher wages can provide a better chance of breaking out of poverty than programs that train for the service and clerical fields.

7. A parenting skills training component, especially if conducted in a hands-on style, can be popular and have positive effects on both parents and children.

8. Program participation should be voluntary. Attendance requirements should be strict enough to minimize attrition but loose enough to instill participants with a feeling of independence and self-determination.

9. Recruitment should be aggressive, well targeted, and swift.

10. Job placement should be creative and aggressive. Graduates must be marketed as a valuable resource to employers. Participants should be placed only in those jobs that represent an improvement over welfare.

11. Support services, especially child care, must be sufficient and flexible to individual needs. In addition to in-program services, transitional support services should be provided and bridge the gap between training and self-sufficiency.

CHAPTER 12

CHILD CARE-BASED TRAINING IN ACTION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine training programs that were specifically designed to train a single target group, low-income women, and to place the trainees in jobs in child care. We discuss the programs and extract relevant implementation lessons from them. Because the programs are often quite complex, we have decided to focus discussions of each on five program components: (1) entry gates for participants, (2) length of program, (3) training of staff, (4) curriculum content, and (5) instructional strategies. We will first discuss training programs that emerged as a result of federal initiatives or efforts to address the shortage of child care personnel by national organizations. In the next section, we will review some current programs being implemented locally, utilizing federal, state, and local resources. Finally, we will summarize what has been learned about the design of the training programs and suggest the potential value of utilizing what is known for enhancing present training programs or structuring new ones for effective outcomes.

DEFINITION OF PROGRAM COMPONENTS

When we reviewed the training programs, five key components emerged as being particularly relevant to our discussion. We define them as follows: (1) entry gates: the requirements a participant must meet, such as age, educational level, or life experience skills, in order to be eligible for entry into the training program; (2) length of program: the time spent by the participant in preparation prior to employment, including orientation, training, and follow-up activities; (3) training of staff: the orientation and preparation of the persons who deliver the training program, including instructors, counselors, and administrators; (4) curriculum content: the actual material contained in the course of study; and (5) instructional strategies: the methods utilized by the trainers to transmit knowledge to trainees and develop their skills.

EARLY WELFARE-ORIENTED TRAINING PROGRAMS

Between 1968 and 1971, the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) conducted two large-scale child care training programs for unemployed and underemployed low-income women under contracts with the U.S. Office of Education: the Child Care Worker Training Project (CCWPT) from 1968 to 1970, and the Child Care Aide Training Program (CCATP) from 1970 to 1971. About 1,100 trainees were involved in these programs, and the program effects were extensively evaluated. As such, these efforts provide a rich source of directly relevant information.

The programs were offered in five major cities by five local subcontracting organizations, such as health and welfare councils, public school districts offering vocational education, and colleges and universities. CWLA assisted subcontractors in developing the training programs by providing funding, setting guidelines, and giving advice on curriculum development and in establishing relations with employment agencies, with potential employers, and with the community at large. CWLA also acted as a facilitator of communication of ideas among the site cities. In both programs, 80 percent to 84 percent of the participants completed the training and about 42 percent were subsequently employed in child care settings.

There were no age or educational barriers governing entry into these programs, but the jobs for which participants were being trained were narrowly defined. For instance, aides performed what were basically housekeeping chores and noninstructional and some semi-instructional duties. Assistant teachers' duties involved more personal contact with children in arts and crafts, field trips, and other activities. A four-stage vertical career ladder consisting of job descriptions for aide, worker, supervisor, and professional was established as well as a horizontal ladder, which included child care job placement in a variety of centers and institutional settings. Designed as a short-term, high-impact intervention, the program consisted of eleven weeks of actual training with some follow-up services. Basically, the program design followed a traditional teacher education model of classroom instruction and hands-on experiences.

The CWLA efforts provide important lessons regarding the selection and training of personnel and the content of the training. CWLA found that an untrained staff that was not of the same culture as the trainees, no matter how well educated or well intentioned, tended to have unrealistic expectations for the trainees. What was particularly worrisome was that many did not adapt their instructional materials or strategies to the trainees. As a result, consultation from the national staff was directed at (1) eliminating content that was deemed interesting but not essential in so brief a course for nonacademically oriented people being trained for entry-level jobs and (2) clarifying with the trainers which teaching and learning strategies were appropriate for this population. In addition to lack of familiarity with the appropriate content and the trainees, CWLA found that trainers they had identified largely through academic and social service institutions were not familiar with the community at large. Consequently, many had little knowledge about practicum sites for trainees that reflected the job situations for which trainees were being prepared (Child Welfare League of America, 1972).

In an honest and analytic appraisal, CWLA's final report raised important questions and made insightful suggestions. Central staff questioned the assumption that a "good" training program must be linked in some way to an academic ladder. They suggested that preference be given for a practical focus in brief training programs and stressed the necessity to develop a group of trainers who were sensitive to considering alternatives to a didactic approach to training.

In summarizing the lessons learned, multiple themes emerge: (1) trainers themselves need training in order to implement a meaningful program for the trainees; (2) there is not an automatic transfer of knowledge between theory and practice or between didactic classroom instruction and practicum experiences; (3) trainees need experiences that provide direct and high-quality role models for the jobs they will fill; and (4) there is a need to link practicum and classroom experiences concurrently, not sequentially.

Slightly following the CWLA efforts, Fresh Start, a local CETA-funded program in Worcester, Massachusetts, was launched in the late seventies. Administered by the local YWCA, Fresh Start trained 136 women for entry-level employment as child care or recreation aides. Of these, a substantial number, 76, chose a child care track for preparation.

Entry into the program was voluntary, but the entry gates included CETA eligibility, which included a test for basic skills aptitude, and preference was given to those with a high school diploma or its equivalent. Although the curriculum plan followed a format similar to the CWLA description of classroom instruction and hands-on experiences, a curriculum component was added that directly addressed self-improvement and positive image building for the trainees (Nadel, 1979). Though the content of the curriculum was designed to provide a comprehensive knowledge of child care, the eleven-week outline resembled a one-semester introductory early childhood course: the history and goals of early childhood, program types, teaching techniques, child development, specific skills, practical skills, readiness development, introduction to learning disabilities, and observational techniques. After a week of orientation, participants spent the next five weeks in six-hour, daily classroom instruction. The following five weeks were spent at worksites for half the day and in classroom instruction for the other half day. The sites were all visited by staff before placement to acquaint site staff with the goals and expectations of trainees. Trainees kept daily logs and prepared lesson plans, and trainers visited the twenty-eight diverse settings to observe trainees in action.

Choice was one key element in the overall program design; trainees chose their job type, training site, and many individual activities within the program. Respect was another; teaching strategies were built on the philosophy of treating trainees as responsible adults who could share the direction of their instruction.

In summarizing the major contributions of Project Fresh Start, we cite three important elements from the final report (Nadel, 1979). First, this effort envisioned training as a cooperative, shared endeavor of trainers and trainees. Second, Fresh Start helped us recognize the importance of respecting the many demands placed on low-income women. Such respect was demonstrated by giving careful thought to scheduling and to the provision of child care for parents who had children below school age. The third lesson is that Fresh Start, through its horizontal career ladder, helped the field recognize that there are many job functions contained under the rubric of child care.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT-ORIENTED TRAINING PROGRAMS

As these welfare-oriented programs to train low-income women to work in child care were being piloted, in another completely different arena, programs that had a child development orientation were also training this same population. During the decade of the sixties, hundreds of programs and Head Start centers had been established across the country to serve economically disadvantaged preschoolers and their families. Bereft of staff or unique in intention, many launched training programs to meet their particular needs. The most well-known, Head Start, was augmented by other training efforts that also yielded important information.

Head Start and Its Early Training Efforts

Inherent in the design of Head Start was a strong parent component which promoted the participation of parents both in the classroom and in making decisions about the operation of the program. In many cases, parents of children in Head Start became staff members in the program. Indeed, today roughly one-third of Head Start staff have been or are parents in the program.

To ready staff for Head Start roles, the program has had an historic and comprehensive commitment to pre- and in-service training. Parents naturally benefited from the general training, but additional special training that prepared them for Head Start employment was an important component of the program. Reflecting Head Start's commitment to continual development, staff career ladders were instituted, offering advancement opportunities.

Training for staff has been a constant component of the Head Start program since its inception. As a landmark model, Head Start has provided training through the Head Start Supplementary Training (HSST) effort, ranging from simple orientations to eight-week intensive training sessions for professional and paraprofessional staff. HSST has taken various forms over the years, vacillating among regional, state, and local delivery approaches. For example, in 1967, a network of regional training offices was established to identify staff training needs. These were later abolished and training was delivered through the programs themselves. Though delivery mechanisms varied, HSST was instrumental in recognizing the importance of staff training to program quality and the importance of training low-income parents for employment within the program. Unlike day care, which also burgeoned in the 1970s and which experienced little effort to monitor the quality of care children received, Head Start, through its performance standards and training opportunities, strove to maintain--if not advance--quality (U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1980).

To this end, in the 1970s Head Start's sponsoring agency, the Administration for Children, Youth and Families (ACYF), announced its commitment to improve the quality of children's experiences by focusing on the competence of child care staff. To do so, ACYF began to identify the basic staff competencies needed to provide competent care and devised an assessment system rooted in these competencies. By the late seventies, HSST dovetailed with what became the competency training system, the Child Development Associate Program (Zigler & Valentine, 1979).

Related Training Efforts

Concurrent with Head Start efforts, demonstration programs that developed models for training low-income women to work in early childhood settings took hold. Both in Head Start and in the schools, the use of paraprofessional staff and an expansion of the roles that could be filled by this group became popular (Bowman & Klopf, 1968).

The Syracuse University Children's Center

The Syracuse University Children's Center supplied supportive services for low-income families, with the goal of training paraprofessionals to work with infants and toddlers in the day care component of the program. As the training design and philosophy have been described (Lally, 1973), the positive attitude of the trainer regarding the trainee is characterized as essential to the success of the training. This attitude should be based on the premise that paraprofessionals bring with them skills and backgrounds that are perhaps different from but not worse than those of the professionals with whom they will be working in the classroom.

Rather than setting rigid standards, this program used an interview system of open-ended questioning and role-playing in choosing the trainees. In the selection process, an attempt was made to discern the applicant's receptivity to change with particular emphasis on assessing the potential for attitudinal flexibility regarding different approaches to child rearing. Careful consideration was given to making sure that the selection of each candidate was based on an estimate of her potential to handle the training situation and to grow with it, rather than on existing competencies.

Trainers were urged to continually evaluate their own efforts and were advised about which content and methods could be more or less successful than others. In addition, trainers were urged to use concrete situations rather than technical jargon in their instruction, and to be aware that in-depth understandings cannot be gained easily.

From the curricular perspective, the content suggested attention to infant and child development, and included simplified descriptions of the tenets of Piaget and Erikson, nutrition, health and safety, the ecology of the classroom, space, time, environment, and their relation to developmental tasks. Instructional strategies included understanding daily classroom routines, setting up sample lessons, and sharpening trainees' observation skills by means of comments and questions following demonstrations with infants. Specific developmental properties of materials used in the classroom were stressed, as were opportunities for trainees to create their own materials.

The lessons from the Syracuse Children's Center training effort are helpful in that they alert us to the need to (1) utilize new methods for identifying and choosing trainees, tying this process specifically to particular job functions; (2) provide content based on developmental theories and apply the content in daily routines, thus verifying the trainees' in-depth understanding of the curriculum material; (3) demonstrate utilization of a variety of teaching strategies and assist the trainee in integrating knowledge as the basis of job performance; and (4) solicit and incorporate feedback from trainees regarding the program. The Syracuse approach suggests that each training program should customize the length of training, taking into consideration the ratio of pre-service to in-service training. Moreover, any training for this population needs to make the links between theory and practice explicit, reinforcing the learning garnered in the classroom with practical experience.

Early Child Stimulation through Parent Education

In the late sixties, another effort to train paraprofessionals for home-based care took hold through the Early Child Stimulation through Parent Education project in Florida. In this effort, women were trained as parent educators to work individually with parents and children in the family home. Focusing on infants and toddlers, this effort served low-income families, and it was thought that this personalized, home-based intervention would be best delivered by community paraprofessionals who could easily establish rapport and would be more attuned to cultural cues. Since trainees were being chosen for a developing role, specific skills needed were difficult to identify, so inventive selection procedures were devised. For example, role-playing was used to assess verbal skills, attitudes about child rearing, knowledge about the nature of intelligence and the handling of responsibility. Once selected, the trainees were enrolled in an initial five-week program. As the parent educator began to work in the field, the in-service training became a regular part of the effort with one day a week set aside for it over two and a half years.

An interdisciplinary team drawn from education, child psychology, social work, and nursing, the trainers respected trainees' opinions and attitudes, considering them critical to the success of the program; open, two-way communication was fostered. Trainees were treated as responsible professionals; they were neither coddled nor checked up on continually (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969).

Though the content incorporated the general philosophy of the program and its research parameters, it focused on the precise interventions to be used with families and was augmented by general education. The instructional strategies gave priority to problem-solving activities based on concerns of staff and trainees that surfaced during role-playing sessions or other practice exercises (Lally, 1973). Lectures were kept to a minimum and used mostly as explanations for other activities.

Perhaps most important, both the Syracuse and Florida programs departed from the traditional model for training paraprofessionals. Instead of simply passing along conventional knowledge, the staff enlisted the low-income trainees as active participants in planning and problem solving. They were seen as associates rather than passive recipients of the "wisdom" of those far removed from the realities of poverty.

THE CHILD DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATE

Mentioned earlier, the Child Development Associate was launched in the early 1970s and remains the nation's major competency-based early childhood training effort. Staff members earn the credential through a two-stage process: first, they participate in training and on-the-job experiences designed to improve their understanding and skill in working with children; second, they undergo a direct assessment with an outside evaluator and a parent who consider classroom observations and information reported by the candidate to determine competency. If successful, the candidate is awarded the CDA credential.

As CDA began to grow, several early childhood education/child development associations established a nonprofit consortium to develop and carry out a system for evaluating and credentialing child care workers on the basis of the competencies outlined by a federal task force. The Child Development Associate (CDA) Consortium, as it came to be known, refined the original competencies, developed a more detailed description of the skills needed, and designed a system for assessing child care workers on the job. This assessment system, based on six competency standards, first addressed child care workers serving three- to five-year-olds in center-based programs. In 1974 the system was successfully field-tested and the first CDA credentials were awarded in 1975. In 1979, bilingual competency standards (Spanish-English) were added to the system.

The Child Development Associate National Credentialing Program (CDANCP), administered by the Bank Street College of Education under a grant from the Department of Health and Human Services, implemented CDA assessments from 1979 to 1985. During this time, CDANCP completed a major research project that resulted in the expansion of the CDA assessment system to caregivers in family day care homes, home visitor programs, and infant/toddler center-based programs. Requirements and competencies in these areas were field-tested successfully and CDA assessment was made available to caregivers working in these settings between 1983 and 1985.

In 1985, the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) entered into a forty-two-month cooperative agreement with ACYF and assumed responsibility for the management of the CDA program. NAEYC set up a separate nonprofit corporation called the Council for Early Childhood Professional Recognition. During this period the council was directed to review all aspects of the program, establish standards for a CDA training program, set up competency-based training that would meet national standards, and improve the efficiency, credibility, affordability, and quality of assessments. In 1989, this council became an independent entity and launched a new two-part CDA model that consists of improved procedures for assessment based on competent performance as well as a new training program for people entering the field.

From an historical perspective, it is obvious that although the administration of the CDA has fluctuated among government, higher education, the largest early childhood professional association in the nation, and finally an organization specifically designed to facilitate the system, this mobility has served to enrich rather than diminish CDA's impact on the improvement of quality in child care. As recounted above, the program developed slowly in a methodical manner, with each expansion carefully field-tested, and procedures constantly reviewed and improved. Proof of its impact is perhaps best illustrated by looking at (1) the acceptance of CDA in the field and (2) the continued support of federal and state government initiatives for the system.

There can be no question that CDA is recognized widely in the field. Since 1975, over forty thousand child care workers have received a CDA credential, making it the single most pervasive competency-based credential in the field. From the trainers' perspective, CDA is also widely recognized; CDA training has been conducted by child care programs, Head Start centers, independent consultants, and more than three hundred colleges and universities throughout the nation (Council for Early Childhood Professional Recognition, 1989).

Support for CDA, another index of its impact, has been consistent within Head Start, though it has been less effective in reaching other segments of the early care and education community. In part, the strong tie to Head Start is explained by CDA's financial evolution. In 1973, ACYF funded thirteen pilot training programs to develop performance-based training designed to help caregivers master the CDA competencies. At the same time, Head Start Supplementary Training dollars were converted to a CDA orientation, and requirements have been regularly applied to increase the number of credentialed staff in Head Start classrooms. Because CDA is costly, it has been used most frequently by workers in subsidized programs, most notably Head Start.

Support for CDA is not limited to one branch of the federal government. Indeed, beginning in 1986, Congress authorized support through the CDA Scholarship Act. Since that time, funding allocations have increased annually. States have also been receptive to CDA: forty-nine have recognized the credential as a qualification for teaching staff and/or directors in child care regulations (Brown, 1990).

In 1991, for the first time since CDA's inception, training and assessment was linked through the introduction of a one-year training program for people entering the field, based on a nationally developed curriculum guide (Phillips, 1990). Until then, the training component of CDA had been funded and administered separately from assessment and credentialing responsibilities. The addition of standards of approval for training programs establishes elements of quality control that can only improve the value of the credential.

As originally conceived, the CDA entry provisions required that participants be working with children in a center-based program or family day care home, or as a home visitor; be eighteen years of age or older; sign a statement of professional conduct; be able to speak, read, and write well enough to fulfill responsibilities of a CDA candidate; and be able to participate in interviews with the CDA national representative. The new model requires that individuals be eighteen years of age or older and have a high school diploma or GED. Previous early childhood experience is not required.

Content of CDA training is based on competency standards, which are divided into six goals or statements of general purpose for caregiver behavior (e.g., to establish and maintain a safe, healthy learning environment). The six goals are defined in more detail in thirteen functional areas that describe the major task or function a caregiver must complete in order to carry out the competency goal (e.g., the specific actions that can be taken by a caregiver to ensure a safe, healthy learning environment are described in a developmental context). The functional area definitions and sample behaviors reflect the particular skills needed for the specific child care setting or age grouping.

Instructional strategies have been very much in keeping with lessons learned from earlier training efforts described above. Essentially the CDA process (1) respects the knowledge and skills the candidate (trainee) brings to the training; (2) pairs a professional advisor with a candidate on a one-to-one basis; (3) identifies candidate deficits in a supportive context; (4) works individually to prepare a portfolio that demonstrates the candidate's abilities; and (5) excludes a heavy reliance on teacher-directed instruction.

Though the evaluation data on CDA is not robust quantitatively or methodologically (Powell, 1989), national surveys of CDAs reveal important findings. Ninety-six percent of CDAs were still working directly in programs for young children up to three years after receiving the credential, an especially critical finding given the 41 percent annual turnover rate in child care staff nationwide. Studies showing improved quality in classrooms where CDAs are in charge are harder to come by, although the National Day Care Study (Ruopp, Travers, Glantz, & Coelen, 1979), when documenting program quality, used a checklist based on the CDA functional areas that positively correlated with children's total scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Preschool Inventory. Head Start data and CDA surveys have reported that many CDAs have become consumers of higher education. And according to self-report data, CDAs have indicated they experienced positive changes in self-confidence about their abilities, which positively affected their work with children. With the system more firmly in place and with inventive efforts to train and credential trainees, the CDA represents a strong potential guide for the training being considered in our training/parenting effort.

RECENT TRAINING EFFORTS LINKING WELFARE AND CHILD CARE

As the possibility of the largest expansion of Head Start since 1978 becomes real, as child care programs are expanded to serve the needs of the JOBS program within the Family Support Act, and as the need for child care by all sectors of our population increases, training of child care workers is receiving increased attention. Most exciting, some of these new efforts represent links between welfare-oriented and child-development-oriented training, a marriage long overdue. Several of these collaborative efforts will be reviewed here to assess their contributions to our knowledge about child care training.

Child Care Careers Training Program

In five sites in Massachusetts, the Child Care Careers Training Program trains AFDC, low- and middle-income women for positions in child care. Each site trains about twenty individuals per ten-month training cycle. Though the basic outline of the curriculum is determined by state regulations regarding requirements for child care teachers, details are left to the individual sites. Field placement is arranged the by individual sites, with each trainee completing two four-month internships. Participants in this program earn a total of fifteen college credits divided among child development, infant-toddler development, and preschool curricula.

Job placement activities, implemented by the Bay State Skills Corporation, begin three months prior to the end of training, and trainees are assisted in finding openings, writing resumes, and obtaining interviews. The goals of Bay State Skills are simple but critical: all trainees must be placed and they must receive wages at least 20 percent above minimum wage. Under the umbrella for this project, Bay State Commonwealth Careers Project, an interagency effort, was created to pool funds and sponsor both entry-level training for day care teachers and career ladder training to help licensed teachers become head teachers, and head teachers become center directors (Bay State Skills Corporation, 1991). In fiscal year 1991, joint funding by three state agencies--the Bay State Skills Corporation, the Department of Education, and the Office for Children--supported five entry-level teacher programs for 110 trainees and six upgrading programs for 250 participants.

Results of the effort have been promising. In fiscal year 1990, one site--Wheelock College--enrolled twenty-four trainees, nineteen of whom completed the one-year training. Of those nineteen, fourteen were placed in child care positions and five elected to continue their education. The average wage was $7.50 an hour, with the best students earning $8.50 to $9.00 an hour.

Childcare Alternatives and Parent Education (CAPE)

In Texas, Childcare Alternatives and Parent Education (CAPE) provides two levels of training, one for entry-level positions as teacher assistants, and one for preparation for early childhood education teacher positions for those employed who wish to upgrade their status. Funding is provided through the Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA).

The entry-level program targets economically disadvantaged individuals with the goal of changing participants' attitudes and behavior toward children by teaching them how children grow and develop. The content for all courses is presented in easy-to-read handbooks with many examples that make the theories relevant to the trainees' experiences.

Each handbook is supplemented with a study guide, oral and written evaluations, and classroom activities so that participants can succeed regardless of their learning styles or past academic experiences. Trainees work in a day care center during the mornings and attend classes in the afternoon. This gives them an opportunity to practice what they are learning in the classroom and share their successes and failures within a supportive group atmosphere. Each trainee works with both an assigned teacher at the day care center and CAPE staff monitors who provide ongoing feedback and evaluation.

The preparation program for teacher positions targets low-income women employed in day care centers as teacher assistants or aides who want to advance to a lead teacher position. This independent study course, entitled the Competent Caregiver Home Study, is combined with on-site visitations. Basic child development information, nutrition, safety, communication, and behavior management are presented in easy-to-read handbooks. The evaluation tool for each section requires the trainee to write a short essay. This program prepares the trainees to become candidates for a CDA credential. An advisor observes the trainees' behavior with children in the work setting and charts short-term and long-term goals, and works with the trainees to become comfortable with writing about situations using appropriate terminology in preparation for the coordination of the CDA portfolio. One of the strengths of this program, in addition to the CDA preparation, is its flexibility, which allows trainees the freedom to choose the place, time, and speed with which they complete the program.

In CAPE's first group of trainees in 1988, thirty-two trainees completed the training, and twenty-six were employed in child care. Most students are single mothers who have relied on federal assistance. The trainees' day care costs and transportation are paid for while they are in training. Participants in the CDA program must have a GED or high school diploma and have worked in a child care setting for at least 640 hours.

Save the Children/Child Care Support Center/Family to Family

In Georgia, the Save the Children/Child Care Support Center has established the Neighborhood Child Care Network (NCCN) which offers support and training services for family day care providers. Child care specialists visit family day care providers in their homes and share knowledge about child development and community resources. Typically, providers are invited to attend monthly workshops to meet and share experiences with other providers. They are also assisted with state registration and may be linked to additional training opportunities. Providers are eligible to receive scholarships to attend training conferences and workshops related to their work in child care.

Atlanta is one of fifteen cities in the nation selected for a family day care training project, Mervyn's Family to Family Project, funded by Mervyn's Department Stores and the Dayton Hudson Foundation. The project offers family day care providers a comprehensive training course and helps them achieve national accreditation by qualifying for a credential awarded by the National Association of Family Day Care (NAFDC). Over 380 providers have completed this training designed for new and veteran providers; it covers child development, nutrition, parent-provider relationships, and business management. Save the Children/Child Care Support Center administers the program.

The emphasis in both these efforts is assessment of individual needs of providers, encouragement to pursue further preparation for the work they are doing, and support by linkage to opportunities for improving the quality of care in their individual family day care homes.

Child Care Teacher Internship Program

In New York, Child Care, Inc., offers a Child Care Teacher Internship Program (CCTIP), open to low-income participants, male and female, who are at least eighteen years old, have a high school diploma or GED, and are receiving public assistance. CCTIP includes preinternship orientation leading to acceptance into a two-year community college program with an early childhood education major. The program provides full-time student status at the community college. Unique aspects of CCTIP are the length of time a trainee can be involved in the program, up to four years; the coordination of an unusual array of support services, which tap different funding streams depending on the economic status of the trainee; and support services that continue after job placement and address the individual trainee's further professional development (Child Care, Inc., 1991).

Specifically, full services are available to the trainee from the onset of the program. Trainees are given support in applying to college, obtaining financial aid, locating child care for his or her own children, and obtaining subsidized child care services. Moreover, the program helps place trainees who obtain an A.A. degree in publicly funded child care programs as assistant teachers and offers trainees opportunities to enroll in institutions offering a B.A. degree in early childhood education.

Older Women as Child Care Trainees

Since the passage of the Older Americans Act, Title V, in 1988, newly developed child care training programs have successfully targeted economically disadvantaged adults over the age of fifty-five.

In New Jersey, seniors who are interested in second careers and in supplementing their retirement income can avail themselves of eight weeks of classroom training, with the objective of becoming day care aides in centers, group teachers, or family day care providers. The training is provided in child care centers accredited by the National Academy of Early Childhood Programs (NAECP) and is delivered by qualified professional teaching staff associated with the center. The curriculum is described as innovative minicourses custom-designed for this model; they combine training in child development with supervised observation and hands-on experiences.

In Pennsylvania, Generations Together, a unit within the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Social and Urban Research, is dedicated to bringing young and elderly together for mutual growth and understanding (Generations Together, 1990a). In 1990, with funding from the Sears Roebuck Foundation, a training program for seniors interested in working in child care was implemented in five sites across the country by Generations Together. The curriculum package, entitled "Older Workers in Child Care: A Training Curriculum," consists of twenty-one modules running the gamut from child development theories to conducting clay, sand, and water activities in the classroom. A practicum experience is included in the training plan, giving students the opportunity to receive direct experience at selected day care centers.

The final project report (*Generations Together*, 1990b) provides a profile indicating the diversity of the trainees. Forty-six percent were fifty to fifty-nine years old, 41 percent were sixty to sixty-nine, and 13 percent were over seventy. Forty-three percent were Afro-American, 37 percent were Caucasian, 10 percent were Asian, and 8 percent were Hispanic. Fifteen percent of the trainees reported pretax household income of $6,000 or less, 52 percent reported less than $15,000 a year, and 8 percent reported over $36,000 annually. For 37 percent of the trainees, their income had decreased in the last two years.

A telephone survey of trainees who completed the program reported that 44 percent were working in a paid child care job, and 41 percent were still interested in such a job, but had not been placed. Most graduates reported working in positions they described as aides, assistants, or helpers. A few were working as teachers and several were working outside of centers as nannies. The average hourly wage for this group was $5.84, with markedly higher wage scales in San Francisco ($6.58) and Seattle ($7.20).

In commenting about the program, trainees reported that the training helped them most in developing child observation skills and in using age-appropriate materials. They felt that group discussions contributed more to their learning than did guest speakers, working in pairs, or homework.

SUMMARY OF CURRENT TRAINING INITIATIVES

Although many of the programs cited here are too new to have been fully evaluated, they display some commonalities. Trends found throughout the programs alert developers of training programs to the complex process of not only providing meaningful training for low-income populations but of assuring employers of the competence of the trainee.

Current programs have recognized that child care training requires a wraparound model with multiple components. First, the programs must provide an orientation to work and an assessment of trainees' capabilities and interest in the field before specific educationally oriented training occurs. Second, programs must provide support for other family needs during the formal training program and after it concludes. To accomplish this, training programs are entering into collaborative arrangements and utilizing multiple funding sources for both program delivery and support services. Third, training efforts need to expand their vistas beyond training and initial placement. Many current programs see their primary efforts as entry-level training and placement, but they also try to work with employed trainees on their continued professional development and advancement. Fourth, respecting the individual variations in trainees, programs must diversify the level and nature of their training. Some programs provide more than one level of training and attempt to attach the second level to nationally recognized credentials such as the CDA, which makes the training programs more valuable to our increasingly mobile low-income population. Finally, some programs are serving trainees not traditionally included in earlier training initiatives, the low-income older population.

The Entry Gate

Because only responsible adults should be in charge of caring for children, a lower age gate of eighteen should prevail, but there should be no upper age cutoff for potential trainees. Age did not appear to be a factor in successful completion of training in the programs reviewed.

Educational status at entry is a difficult question. On the one hand, imposing requirements for a high school diploma or GED will curtail the number of individuals who might benefit from such a program. On the other hand, such training is increasingly considered helpful, if not necessary. This review suggests that the requirement of a high school diploma or GED should be levied, but that knowledge based on practical experience be recognized as valuable as well.

Length of Program

We have seen that welfare-oriented programs such as CCWPT, CCATP, and Fresh Start were designed as short, high-impact interventions. Typically, they consisted of eleven weeks of training and had an overall goal of simple job placement. Almost every program that followed extended the duration, with many of today's programs advocating year-long training. Head Start Supplementary Training, by including pre- and in-service training as well as credentialing, predicted the elements that prevail today--namely, that to be effective, training should be continuous and extend beyond the previously accepted short-term interventions.

Training of Staff

The theme of staff sensitivity to the personal development of trainees is consistent from the oldest to newest programs summarized in this chapter. The early displeasure of CWLA with some of its trainers; the efforts of the Syracuse and Florida programs to equalize the autonomy and control of the training and to welcome input from trainees and trainers; and the advisor-candidate model of CDA with its shared decisions and mutually developed goals all underscore the necessity of training trainers to be both teachers and learners, and of sensitizing trainers to an awareness of the knowledge and skills low-income trainees bring to the program.

Curriculum Content

Most programs reviewed paid careful heed to integrating theory and practice. Lally (1973) divided content into specific task education--knowledge of how to perform the tasks required in one's job--and general education--the content that broadens knowledge of child development and human dynamics. Subsequent programs also recognized the relationship between the content based on actual practice and that based on theory. Perhaps the clearest manifestation of this commitment to integrating practice and theory is evidenced in the CDA. Here, grounded in theory, thirteen functional areas describe the major tasks or functions a caregiver must complete.

Teaching Strategies

From the earliest efforts, dissatisfaction with a traditional lecture format has been voiced by trainers and trainees alike. Hands-on experiences, role-playing, discussion groups, and the use of videotapes are just a few of the strategies that appear to have had more success. The use of concrete experiences that occur concurrently with transmission of information appears to be the predominate effective teaching strategy.

CHAPTER 13

TRAINING AND PARENTING: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Until now, this analysis has concentrated on the preparation of low-income mothers to work as child care providers. However, we have predicated our project on the hypothesis that such training may affect the women's capacity to parent effectively, thus providing residual benefits for their own children's academic and social competence. This hypothesis demands that we explore the relationship between teaching and parenting: Are they the same? How do they differ? What are the consequences of the similarities and differences for the design of a training effort that strives to enhance both parenting and teaching?

The relationship between teaching and parenting has been examined in the literature with an eye toward differences in the processes and in roles (Bronfenbrenner, 1978; Katz, 1984; Lightfoot, 1978). Following an explication of recorded differences, this analysis will explore areas of similarity, particularly as teaching and parenting relate to young children, focusing on if and how such processes may be synergistic.

Even casual observation reveals that the roles of mothers and teachers of young children involve similar functions--nurturing, supporting, and teaching. For this reason, early childhood advocates contend that parents are the child's first and most important teachers. Such "role contamination" accounts, in part, for why the caring professions have historically attracted far more women than men. And if one examines the traditional female occupations discussed in this report, they are distinguished from nontraditional occupations in that they are more involved in caring and serving others, and less oriented toward the production of goods. Given such inclinations to bifurcate employment into male and female occupations with the lower status accorded the female occupations, the literature has attempted to distance parenting from teaching, suggesting that parenting comes naturally while teaching is a set of learned skills for which one needs special preparation. These efforts have tacitly served to legitimate the role of the professional and to upgrade the status of professional caretaking. Moreover, they have pointed out important differences in the two roles.

Katz's (1984) essay on the Roles of Mothers and Teachers explicates the differences well. Katz, building on Urie Bronfenbrenner's contention that all young children need the affection of a preposterously biased and adoring adult, suggests that though the behaviors of parents and teachers overlap on nearly all dimensions, they are differentiated in seven significant ways. First, the scope of functions varies, with parents being responsible for a far broader range of duties than teachers. Second, intensity of affect is far greater for parents than teachers. Third, attachment differs between parents and teachers, though for both there are optimal and distinct levels of attachment. The fourth dimension is rationality. Though parents, as Bronfenbrenner contends, must have irrational enduring attachment for the child, teachers may be ineffective or inequitable if their behavior is characterized by such irrationality. For a teacher, extreme emotional attachment inhibits the equal treatment of all children and the teacher's objectivity; rationality is the goal. Fifth, spontaneity, a desirable trait for parents, is less appropriate for teachers who have the responsibility to impart specific content within a set time frame. Sixth, partiality involves the desire by parents to have their children be outstanding or excellent; they are and should be partial toward their own children. They have a particular interest, in contrast to the teacher's commitment to universal success. Finally, scope of responsibility suggests that the parent is an advocate for the individual child, but teachers must advocate for the well-being of the group. Such differences suggest that parents have an intensity and scope of involvement with their children that no one else can simulate. Lightfoot (1978) sums it up well: "Even the teachers who speak of 'loving' their children do not really mean the boundless, all-encompassing love of mothers and fathers but rather a very measured and time-limited love that allows for withdrawal" (p. 23).

Teaching and parenting roles are different, then, and the differences are complex, demanding special attention. From the professional perspective, one of the major laments of current caregiver/teacher preparation programs is that they accord far too little attention to the delicacy and importance of parents' roles in the care and education of their young. The literature (Bredekamp, 1990a; Katz & Goffin, 1990; Spodek & Saracho, 1990) points out that the omission is particularly disheartening, given that parents are critical partners in the education of their children.

From the personal perspective, there is also experiential evidence to suggest that teachers who are also parents may, despite their training, have elevated expectations for their own children. Katz (1984) indicates that teachers who are mothers may be embarrassed by their emotionality with their own children, expecting themselves to be as calm and objective at home at they are in the classroom. Such confounding of parent-teacher roles is rarely addressed in teacher preparation or parenting programs. Acknowledging the differences and exploring their implications seems critical to the efficacy of the individual who must weave between parent and teacher roles.

Though cogent and convincing regarding the differences between teaching and parenting, the literature fails to clearly explicate the domains of overlap. It does suggest, however, that the differences might not be quite so pronounced when dealing with very young children. Katz (1984) indicates that it may be that the nature of young children requires of their teachers some of the same behaviors--tending, caring, and guiding--accorded by mothers. Conversely, mothers often help their children acquire knowledge and skills that teachers consider important. Katz does acknowledge that in the exploration of differences, role distinctions between teaching and parenting may be somewhat exaggerated.

Without intending to exaggerate similarities, there are important overlaps in the preparation of early childhood caregivers and in the preparation of parents for parenting. Common to both roles is the need to understand basic principles of child growth and development. For the parent or teacher, misunderstanding of these fundamentals can lead to overexpectations for child performance and the failure to accord children the proper time and space to mature. Case records of child-abusing parents ripple with accounts of infants who were beaten because their parents expected them to be toilet-trained at nine months. School records show the chastising--and perhaps labeling or retaining--of four-year-olds who cannot sit still for the half-hour circle time. Proper developmental training for teachers and parents would alleviate both situations.

In addition to a core of basic child development knowledge, teachers and parents both need to understand the domains of fragility and resiliency of young children. They both need to understand the importance of language development to early cognition, the role of values and expectations in motivating behavior, and the intimacy of social and cognitive development. In short, there is a body of knowledge that transcends parenting and teaching; although the different roles demand different levels and applications of knowledge, the core is common.

Beyond overlaps in the knowledge base needed for effective teaching and effective parenting, there is reason to believe that the dimensions of difference offered above may be more relevant for teachers of older children. For example, spontaneity, lauded above for parents but disparaged for teachers, may indeed be quite appropriate for child care and preschool settings where responding to children's interests and program flexibility are encouraged. By contrast, the demands, routines, and learning strategies currently associated with upper grade instruction demand more formal, regularized, and less spontaneous settings. Moreover, in early childhood settings where learning is highly individualized and activity-based, concern for the individual child ranks equal in importance to concern for the group. In short, the parenting/teaching demarcation may be differentially relevant, depending on the age of the child. The younger the child, the greater the similarity between teaching and parenting.

The implications for the training program we are considering are many. First, this analysis suggests there are differences in roles between teachers and parents that demand different kinds and intensities of training. Given these differences, we should not expect that one training modality can effectively prepare individuals for both roles. Second, despite important differences, there are some content elements that seem to have relevance for both effective teaching and effective parenting. To incorporate such elements into the training programs seems wise. Third, there is reason to expect that some role conflict may emerge as parents with young children are trained for employment as child care workers. To minimize role conflict and its potentially negative effects, explicit attention in the training program should be devoted to exploration and discussion of the challenges and strategies associated with being a teacher and a parent simultaneously. In addition, these dichotomies and efforts to ameliorate them should be incorporated into the research design of the project.

CHAPTER 14

PARENTING EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN ACTION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine what we know about parenting education efforts that have relevance to the training/parenting program we plan to design. Specifically, we are interested in exploring definitions of parenting education and in discerning how this construct differs from parent involvement and parent participation. We assess the utility of definitional differences, suggesting that parenting education began as a narrower vision that now has been expanded to become more inclusive. Second, we turn to an analysis of specific parenting programs that accord with the definition offered and discuss their components, strengths, and weaknesses. We conclude the chapter by examining these efforts with regard to their implications for the proposed training/parenting program.

DEFINING PARENTING EDUCATION

In order to examine efforts in parenting education, it is necessary to achieve some precision regarding what constitutes a parenting education program. As we shall see, definitional debates have characterized the literature and practice for decades and, more significantly, we will suggest they have clouded a unitary construct of parenting education.

Though efforts to deliver parenting education and supports to parents have existed since the Colonial era, they found practical expression only episodically during our history, with high points emerging with the settlement house movement of the 1880s, the cooperative nursery school movement of the 1920s and 1930s, and the interventionist efforts of the 1960s. The concept of parenting education was never clearly codified, but there was a general acceptance that it consisted simply of providing information to help parents do a better job of rearing their children.

With the advent of increasing commitment to the concept of parenting education, through Head Start, ESEA Title I, and the special education legislation of 1974, individuals from various walks of life--bureaucrats, politicians, practitioners, researchers, academics--became interested in defining the construct. Their desire was no doubt hastened as increasing federal dollars were poured into the programs and the press for accountability in federal spending gained currency. The vague concept of parenting education begged for definitional precision as a prelude to evaluating its outcomes. If America wanted to know how and if parenting education worked, it needed to know clearly what it was.

In examining considerations that led to the use of the word parenting, Grams (1972) suggests that the primary intent was to extend the responsibility for nurturing children beyond the limited gender responsibilities typically associated with mothers. Indeed, use of the word parenting implied that there was a role for fathers in this endeavor. More broadly, however, Grams also suggests that use of the term parenting may have organizational ramifications--that is, not only would the nurturing responsibilities of fathers be embraced in the new term, but organizations concerned with the development of children might also expand their agendas. It seems, then, that there were practical and symbolic rationales for favoring the term.

At the practical level, the development and subsequent announcement of a parenting program for high school students necessitated some stand on the issue. Developed jointly by the U.S. Office of Child Development and the Office of Education, the new program, "Education for Parenthood," offered its own rationale: "Parenting has to do with the full range of activities and concerns and all the knowledge and skills that being a parent entails, and that many young Americans know very little about" (Marland, 1973). Supporting this need to clarify a construct that was receiving increased support, Secretary of Education Terrel Bell, writing in 1975, suggested that American children were losing out on what should be their undeniable right--namely, the right to good parents, skilled in the art of parenting.

It is important to note that Marland and Bell were both somewhat apologetic about using the new term parenting. Marland opened his statement by saying, "Parenting is a word of recent coinage that does not, I confess, fall sweetly on the ear, and yet it conveys its meaning forcefully." Bell, in discussing the need for effective parenting, added, "This word, increasingly fashionable in academic circles, is useful shorthand for the concept of doing a good job as a parent, so I will use it."

Similar skepticism about the term was reflected in the popular press. Nicholas von Hoffinan (1978), writing in the Progressive, lamented, "A new word is among us--parenting. It's another one of those terrible neologisms that seem to be the chief product of psychology. Parenting is different from mothering or fathering, which derive from traditional familial roles as well as feelings of love and duty. Parenting sweeps all that away and replaces it with technique"(p. 42). Later that same year, George Will, writing in Newsweek, echoed the attack: "The new science of parenting, proclaimed in a flood of handbooks (with appalling titles like "Improving Your Child's Behavior Chemistry"), imposes upon mothers the responsibility of measuring up to scientific perfection in raising children. Parenting (in a rational society the use of ersatz words would be a flogging offense) is another example of the modern assumption that all of nature, including human nature, is raw material for science" (p. 100).

The widespread prevalence of such skepticism was not entirely unjustified. Attempts to define parenting had failed. None of the offered definitions helped clarify the construct, and by their vagueness they simply added to the confusion. Lacking specificity, the ambiguous term enabled those running and evaluating programs to implement their own individualized visions of parenting education. It seems clear now that not only was the definition unclear, but in the absence of a definition programs were tacitly given license to mirror that lack of clarity.

Not an indictment of practitioners or program designers, who desired clarification, the situation yielded a creative, broad focus on process rather than a more circumscribed focus on a specific body of knowledge. Gradually, program developers came to understand parenting as an array of activities and skills involved in nurturing children, but practically devoid of theoretical substance. Such a content-free orientation is apparent even in today's dictionary definitions of parenting, which refer only to the "rearing of children" and "care, love, and guidance". If precise content remained ambiguous, the object of the intervention was not. In this period, the parent--or the about-to-be parent--who had responsibility for the child's development was the target.

Extruding Definitions from Practice

As the foregoing discussion suggests, theoretical definitions rapidly took a back seat to practice definitions. Parenting education is a clear case of a field coming to grips with its own definition via practice. To that end, we turn to Head Start, certainly the earliest and most codified leader in the current parenting debate.

Led by Head Start, the nation's premier program and prototype in early childhood intervention, most programs established in the 1960s and 1970s had a strong commitment to parents modeled after Head Start. The definitional challenge was not quashed by Head Start's commitment to parents because parenting pervaded every facet of the program. In Head Start, there were multiple forms of parent involvement, education, participation, empowerment, and support. Specifically, since the 1970 issuance of ACYF Transmittal 70.2--Head Start's manifesto on parent involvement--four areas have dominated: (1) participation in making decisions about the nature and operation of the program; (2) participation in the classroom as paid employees, volunteers, or observers; (3) activities for the parents that they have helped to develop; and (4) working with their children in cooperation with the staff of the center. These standards put parents at the heart of the program and went considerably beyond conventional notions of parenting education.

Though not all would agree on this categorization, for the purposes of this discussion we will discern between parent involvement, parent participation, parent support, and parent education. Parent involvement is generally regarded as the most benign form of intervention. Here parents are involved in supporting the activities of the program through volunteering in the classroom, participating in field trips, and carrying out fund-raisers. They have little voice in the management of the program, but contribute in meaningful ways to its sustenance. Presumably, parents garner indirect gains from this involvement, but that is not the primary intention of this form of engagement.

Parent participation has come to be equated with participation in key decision making. In Head Start, parents are heavily involved in hiring and firing decisions, in fund distribution, and in curricular decisions. They are the majority members not of an advisory council but of a policy council. In this construct, participation implies a level of power and authority far more intense than that associated with involvement.

Parenting education refers to the domain of engagement where parents are "educated," typically in three domains: (1) child development, curricular, and parenting strategies (For parents of older children, this takes the form of training to be effective supporters of their youngsters' homework and project activities); (2) self-esteem and self-knowledge so as to empower the parent with knowledge and skills necessary to maneuver societal institutions; and (3) specific skill, literacy, or GED preparation to enhance employment opportunities. Older programs tended to focus on the first strategy, with parent training models directed at acquiring specific skills related to achieving specific behavioral outcomes. Other programs attempted to give parents a body of conventional knowledge about parenting and called their effort parent education.

Parent support has been referred to as the engagement wherein social and emotional supports are provided by the program staff to the family. Parent support may refer to the direct distribution of services and goods by the program or it may entail referral to agencies for more specific attention to a particular problem, such as housing, welfare, or health.

Though quality Head Start programs encompass all four of these parenting domains, not all parenting programs do. Indeed, they typically begin with a narrower focus. But as the field has evolved, as parents' needs have escalated, and as our knowledge has grown, parenting programs in general, and parenting education programs in particular, have evolved as well.

The past twenty years of this evolution have seen several trends. First, programs have moved from a narrow to a broad focus in terms of the intervention strategies used. Program providers have come to realize that unidimensional interventions may be too benign to redress the complex social problems all parents--and low-income parents in particular--bring to the 1990s table. Second, the programs have not only expanded their intervention strategies but have broadened their target audience. Earlier parenting education programs saw parents as the primary intervention points and beneficiaries of their efforts. Changes their in children were regarded essentially as by-products. As the programs have evolved, this parent-oriented focus has been dismissed in favor of focusing equal attention on the child, the parent-child dyad, and the family. Third, 1990s programs no longer regard parents as empty vessels, ready to be filled with knowledge. Rather, their own special expertise is acknowledged. As we observed in the child care training programs discussed earlier, parents are now regarded as partners, responsible for contouring their own programs. Hierarchical parent-staff relationships are being replaced with far more egalitarian approaches to child nurturing.

On the other hand, 1990s parenting programs, though programmatically rich, do little to promote the kind of definitional clarity sought at the outset of this chapter. Whether parenting is an art or a science; whether the enhancement of parenting is based on the transmission of a specific body of knowledge about child development, an isolated skill training, or a combination of both; whether programs are parenting education, parenting support, or both--these issues remain decidedly ambiguous. Recently, Weiss and Halpern (1990) used the term parenting system to illustrate the direct service provided by these programs. They regard these efforts as multifaceted and primarily parent-focused. The interventions support the parents' individual parenting systems and promote attentive and nurturant parenting, the parents' psychological well being, and their personal development--all with the ultimate objective of promoting the healthy development of their children. The heart of the concept is that a broader conceptualization of parenting support is necessary if these interventions are to have the desired outcome.

Thus far, this discussion has concentrated on parenting education programs outside the vocational education system. It is important to note that during the 1980s, there was a strong movement to expand parenting education to high school students, many of whom are parents. In fact, the Education Development Center (1980) has chronicled forty-seven potential sources of available funds for parenting education in existing federal programs such as those addressing adoption, bilingual education, career education, child abuse, community development, health, higher education, job training, and vocational education. To be certain, these efforts, like the entire field, lacked definitional clarity.

The historic difficulty in defining parenting education is symbolic of the conceptual difficulty in the field. On the one hand, this may be regarded as quite troublesome, but on the other, the absence of definition has liberated program developers to produce an assortment of inventive efforts that have advanced our collective work for parents. By examining these varied federal initiatives, we can explore the development of the field.

FEDERAL INITIATIVES IN PARENTING EDUCATION

The Parent and Child Centers

Launched in 1967, Head Start's Parent Child Centers (PCCs) were the first Head Start experimental programs designed to serve low-income families with children ages birth to three. The programs functioned in thirty-three communities and served over four thousand children and their families. Parents attended classes in parenting/child development while their infants were in nursery settings, in which the parents also participated. Transportation, health, and social services were available to the families as needed. Participation for families usually occurred one or more times a week for part of a day over a period of three years. Some programs had activities for families on Saturdays when the whole family was able to participate.

Three of the PCC sites--Birmingham, New Orleans, and Houston--were evaluated (Andrews et al., 1982). Children in the treatment group at all three sites tested higher on the Stanford-Binet at thirty-six months than children in the control group. Treatment group mothers showed many positive effects, such as involvement in comforting their infants more, refraining from verbal control of infants and toddlers, and talking more to the children, and they reported greater life satisfaction and greater use of community resources on behalf of the family. Positive effects reflected in the PCC evaluations presaged a movement toward earlier intervention, a shift in focus from child to parent/child to family, and the extension of health and social services to the family unit.

The Parent and Child Development Centers

In 1970, several of the PCCs became the Parent Child Development Centers (PCDCs), offering comprehensive services to low-income families with children ages birth to three. As the title indicates, services were targeted to both the parent and the child. The goal for the parents, primarily low-income mothers, was the improvement of the mother's socialization skills; the goal for the child was the enhancement of cognition and language. The described curriculum for mothers included information on child development, child rearing practices, home management skills, and nutrition and health, assistance with the mothers' personal development, and an introduction to government and community resources and how to use them.

As mothers participated in these activities, there was a simultaneous program for children. Many medical and social services were made available to the parent and child. Significant aspects of this program design were the targeting of low-income mothers and children at birth and the duration of participation, which was three years. It was a sincere attempt to provide what was needed by the low-income mother and child very early in the child's life and for a long enough period of time to make a difference.

The evaluative findings on PCDC are divided into child effects and parent effects. The findings of initial and follow-up studies of PCDC have been summarized as follows (Powell, 1989): Children in each of the sites achieved superior Stanford-Binet scores at three years of age, and the scores were sustained for one year until the child was four. Boys whose mothers did not participate in the program exhibited more negative behavior than boys whose mothers did participate. After twenty-four months of participation, mothers in the program scored higher than control group mothers on dimensions of positive maternal behavior.

The Child and Family Resource Program

The Child and Family Resource Program (CFRP), which operated under the auspices of Head Start in the mid-1970s, served over a thousand low-income families at eleven federally funded sites nationwide and included parents with children ages birth to eight. At some sites, prenatal services were also offered. The program attempted to build on the strengths of the family as a child-rearing system. It proposed to do this by creating a hub for access to many community services and linking families to these services. The principal strategy was a Family Action Plan (FAP) mutually developed by each individual family and a staff person (U.S. Office of Human Development Services, 1978).

The major goal of the program was to develop a number of models or approaches for integrating and coordinating programs. These models could then be adapted by different communities to provide continuity in serving children during the major stages of their early development. Specifically, the objectives of CFRP were (1) to individualize and tailor programs to meet the developmental needs of the children and their families; (2) to link resources in the community so that families could choose from a variety of programs and services while interacting primarily with a single resource center--the CFRP; (3) to provide continuity of resources for parents, enabling each family to guide the development of its children from the prenatal period through their early school years; and (4) to enhance and build upon the strengths of the individual family as a child-rearing system with distinct values, cultures, and aspirations by reinforcing these strengths and treating each individual as a whole and the family as a unit.

The parent education component, central to the implementation of all CFRP components, was viewed as a cooperative venture among parents, children, and staff. The guidance paper on parent education described two goals of the component: (1) to increase parents' understanding of CFRP's goals and local program operations and (2) to design individualized family action plans that enable parents to function more effectively as a family unit.

It is important to note the shift in emphasis here in program design and strategies. The target for services is no longer parent and child nor mother and child; it is the family. The age span of the children has been extended from three to eight, thereby including more children in the same family in more stages of early childhood development. An ideological shift has taken place, redirecting the focus of the work from information about parenting to supporting a parenting system that builds on the parents' strengths. Subsequent studies confirm the effect of building on the strengths of the family: a primary finding was that parents' feelings of control over their lives increased as a result of their participation in CFRP (Travers, Nauta, & Irwin, 1982).

The Comprehensive Child Development Program

The most recent in a long line of federal programs is the Comprehensive Child Development Program (CCDP) created by federal legislation in 1988. Presently, the programs is operating in twenty-four sites around the country.

Building on the knowledge gained in past efforts, the programs recruit poor families with children under age one and pregnant women; these families receive CCDP services for five years. CCDP programs use case management techniques to ensure that families receive coordinated services that respond to their individual needs. Core services may be provided by the public schools, universities, community-based social service agencies, and health centers. Some services are direct, while others are obtained through linkages. Core services for children include health screening, immunization, medical treatment and referral, participation in child care and developmental early childhood education programs, and nutrition services. For parents and other family members, services include prenatal care, parenting education, referral to education and employment training, assistance with housing, income support, and so on.

There is a clear line of descent in this design from programs reviewed above; for instance, the case management approach is reminiscent of the family action plan in the Child and Family Resource Program. For those interested in parenting education, however, CCDP incorporates and expands upon previous conceptions. Moreover, because an extensive evaluation of the CCDP is currently underway, one that promises to look at parenting skills, we can expect to receive important process and outcome information that may help shape future parent education efforts.

Looking back at the major federal intervention initiatives, it appears that the earliest programs put more emphasis on improving the socialization skills of low-income mothers and the cognitive and language development of their children, with automatic expectations that these efforts would generally improve how parents parented. The CFRP programs focused more on building a broader support system for parents that would help them utilize and build on their own existing strengths. Recent models appear to be combining direct developmental services for children with parents' own developmental and support needs. The timing and duration of the interventions have pointed up the need to begin very early, at birth, and to extend the length of the intervention to at least five years, and perhaps eight. A recognition that all children in the family in the early childhood years, birth to eight, should be included for services is apparent.

NONFEDERAL PARENTING EDUCATION EFFORTS

These federal interventions have spawned a host of nonfederally initiated efforts that complement those discussed above. Typically these efforts are not as systematically evaluated as those sponsored under federal aegis. Nonetheless, they provide important information for this review to consider. Because of the large number of programs, we have decided to focus on two that are well known nationally, that have been evaluated, and that provide distinct approaches to parenting education.

The Syracuse Family Development Research Project

The Syracuse Family Development Research Project provided 108 low-income families with a five-year intervention that began after the birth of the child. Eighty-five percent of the participants were single parents with a mean maternal age of eighteen. Quite intensive, the program provided a daily developmental program for children from six months to five years. Children were placed in a half-day group up to fifteen months of age and then in a full-day group until the age of five years. Visits were made to the child's home every week from the time of enrollment at birth to when the child reached age five. Both components of the program modeled interaction with children, demonstrated parent-child games, and supported parents' efforts at personal development. Parents were linked to needed social services and attended center-based parent meetings.

The research design matched pairs of children at age three. Findings showed no difference in cognitive ability between program and control children at age five. In the first grade, program children displayed more positive social interaction with other children, but were more negative toward teachers. The children were evaluated again at age fourteen, when it was found that program girls had better school attendance records and grades than control-group girls and that program boys had fewer and less serious types of juvenile offenses than control-group boys.

These findings raise questions about forms of parent support in relation to enhanced parenting. Is it enough to target parents with services that make them more self-sustaining, or does their parenting need to be reinforced by the child or the social environment? This program combined parent support and direct developmental services to young children. It appears to hold promise of creating long-term child development outcomes for the children, while not neglecting parents' own developmental and support needs. It also suggests that comprehensive services over a long period of time can be effective in altering child outcomes.

Parents as Teachers

In contrast, Missouri's Parents as Teachers (PAT) is a comparatively modest intervention wherein parents receive monthly home visits by trained parent educators. In addition, they attend monthly group meetings at parent resource centers located in the neighborhood schools and receive assistance in accessing needed programs and services. Begun in 1981 to demonstrate the value of high-quality parent education and family support services, the program focuses on parents with infants and very young children. Its services are not specifically targeted to low-income participants, though many such parents are served. In the early years, the program was available to parents and school districts on a voluntary basis, but significant increases in funding have expanded the program so that it is now more widely available. In addition, a National Center for Parents as Teachers has been established and has trained parent educators from twenty-six states.

In 1985 an independent evaluation of Parents as Teachers reported that (1) at age three, PAT children were significantly further advanced than comparison children in language, intellectual, and social development; (2) participation in the program positively affected parents' perceptions of themselves and their school districts; and (3) parents were more knowledgeable about child-rearing practices and child development than were parents of comparison children. Because the program was voluntary and often the neediest did not enroll, the generalizability of these data across populations is questionable.

However, with the expansion of the program, another opportunity emerged to further analyze the impact of the program on a broader spectrum of parents. Recently released results from the second-wave study (Pfannenstiel, Lambson, & Yarnell, 1991) indicated that PAT children performed significantly higher on national norms of achievement than did comparison youngsters. Equally impressive, parents not only expressed high levels of satisfaction with the program, but parent knowledge of child development increased significantly. Gains were particularly impressive for nonminority mothers who lacked a high school education. The study also found that the most frequently observed risks for all families--poor parental coping skills and family stress--were lessened or resolved for half the families by the completion of their PAT involvement.

The reported effects of the PAT program offer four significant issues for consideration for future parenting program developers: (1) the fact that traditional characteristics of risk bore little correlation with children's achievement indicates that all families can benefit from intervention; (2) the fact that parents reported strong satisfaction with the program indicates that the use of trained, but not necessarily professional, parent educators, should be examined; (3) the fact that services may begin when a mother is in her third trimester of pregnancy suggests that timing the intervention to match peak periods of parental concern and interest may be another critical strategy; and (4) the fact that the program is delivered through a universal system--namely, the schools--should be examined in terms of equity, universality, and accountability issues (National Governors Association, 1988).

THE CONTENT OF PARENTING EDUCATION CURRICULA

To look at programs that offer parenting education without examining the curriculum content for these efforts developed under federal initiatives during the past two decades seems to deny the importance of transmitting the conventional knowledge about child development that exists. This does not imply that there is a single curriculum that should be used to educate every parent, but rather that there is a knowledge base all parents can utilize when dealing with their own children. A curriculum that is adaptable to the needs of specific parents, that can be used in part or in total, and that can be adapted to the perceived needs of the participants would be a support to any parenting education program.

Recognizing these needs, the federal government, through three agencies--the National Institute of Mental Health, the Office of Education, and the Office of Child Development (now ACYF)--set out to develop a curriculum. Exploring Childhood, a multimedia parenting curriculum in which the study of child development is combined with work with young children, was the result of this effort. Exploring Childhood gives participants opportunities to develop competence with children and a framework for understanding the forces that shape human development. Although originally designed for high school students, it was subsequently repackaged as Exploring Parenting and is widely used by Head Start parents, the largest group of low-income parents served by any past or current program. As reported by the Head Start Synthesis Project (McKey et al., 1985), Exploring Parenting and Getting Involved were the most widespread parent training programs regularly conducted in local Head Start programs. Neither has been systematically evaluated in terms of its impact on children and their families. Once again we have no evaluative material on a parenting education initiative that used specific curriculum content in conjunction with a specific process approach.

This lack of data regarding the comparative effectiveness of various curriculum models is troubling and has given rise to the prevalent use of packaged models such as Parent Effectiveness Training (PET) or Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP) in early childhood programs such as Head Start, schools, and human service agencies. Though not inherently weak, these programs need to be evaluated and compared with one another and with programs that have no prepared curriculum. Indeed, in isolating the use of various parenting education strategies, Freeman (1975) found that an unstructured discussion group was just as effective as a highly structured STEP group in altering mothers' attitudes about parenting. The point is that in the absence of content data, parenting education programs are punting.

IMPLICATIONS OF PARENTING EDUCATION EFFORTS

For programs that are so highly regarded conceptually, there is remarkably little clarity on their definitions and outcomes, remarkably few revealing evaluations, and remarkably limited training underway. Not unrelated, these facts suggest that the field is little more than an array of disparate programs held together more by ideology than reality. Powell (1989), for example, in attempting to distill the findings from the literature, notes that the diversity of settings, strategies, models, and staff has precipitated major methodological problems in conducting outcome research on program effects. Indeed, only a handful of experimental evaluations have been carried out on parent-oriented early interventions, and while most of the evaluations have found short-term positive effects on child and mother, and a few have uncovered promising long-term effects on family variables, there has been no sustained effect on child IQ.

If we were to distill findings regarding curriculum content and teaching and learning strategies, we would find ourselves even more bereft of constant conclusions. In looking at curriculum content, there is little that informs us whether a particular type of child-related content is more effective than another. There is some suggestion that while global training in child development has little effect, more specific training from a specified curriculum can produce short-term effects in child and parent behavior. If we attempt to extrude lessons for teaching and learning, we would be slightly less hard pressed. There is evidence from several studies that the number of program contacts is related to program effects for parents. Cochran (1988) indicates that effects may be enhanced if collaboration between parents and staff, rather than professional domination by staff, takes hold. And from Parents as Teachers, we are learning about the starting points of intervention--earlier is better than later--and about the potency, for some parents, of comparatively modest interventions.

In terms of the training/parenting program, these efforts suggest that attending to the needs of young mothers can be an effective intervention that may enhance parents' self-esteem and their general comfort in dealing with institutions. To expect the training program to meet these goals is not unrealistic as long as the training effort is comprehensive, the intervention is of sufficient duration, and it helps trainees to successfully integrate work and parenting. Ideally, with some attention to parenting education and to the natural stresses accompanying the dual role of parent and worker, the training/parenting program may be effective in helping parents raise their own children more effectively.

CHAPTER 15

TWO-GENERATION AND LITERACY PROGRAMS IN ACTION

Having looked at the evolution of parenting education programs, we turn to their legacies--programs that use parenting education as a component, but have adopted broader missions. At the outset, it should be noted that classifying programs has been a difficult challenge throughout this work. We urge caution in applying labels to individual programs or to classes of programs as a whole. The reality is that, not unlike parenting education, its legacies are equally diverse and resistant to discrete categorization.

With that caveat, this chapter will attempt to bring some order to the array of multifaceted efforts being undertaken in the field and generally called two-generation programs and literacy programs. We begin with an analysis of two-generation programs in general: first, we define them; second, we trace their roots to family support efforts; and third, we review current efforts. We then turn our attention to a subgroup of two-generation programs--those that focus on literacy. We discuss various programs, share their evaluation findings, and present implications of the two-generation programs for the training/parenting program.

TWO-GENERATION PROGRAMS

What Is a Two-Generation Program?

A common question about two-generation programs is what makes them different from early intervention programs that have been in place since the 1960s. We recall that Bronfenbrenner, as early as 1974, noted that early interventions targeted to children are more effective when parents are involved in the program. And most early childhood programs, even from the earliest days, have involved parents. As we have seen, Head Start not only involved parents and provided rich parenting opportunities but mandated parents' participation in decision making. Given this long history, what makes two-generation programs different from what early care and education has long advocated?

There are differences. Two-generation programs are built on the joint assumption that children participating in quality early childhood programs with access to health care will have some of the negative effects of living in poverty ameliorated, but these early developmental gains are more likely to be sustained if the parents' education, employment, and income status is improved. In other words, two-generation programs recognize that the effects of even the most effective early intervention will be minimized if the family system is dysfunctional. Improving family life chances is essential to increasing the likelihood of sustaining positive child outcomes and the family's ability to survive without public support. Consequently, many two-generation programs accord equal weight to (1) helping families attain economic self-sufficiency through education and job training and (2) providing both parenting education and high-quality child care that support children's healthy development (Smith, 1991).

Two-generation programs are different from many past efforts in that they are explicit in stating their overall goal of promoting self-sufficiency through education and job training for parents while supporting children with quality child and health care. Different from goals of past programs, this goal has structural implications that further distinguish two-generation programs from its ancestors. Structurally, two-generation programs aim to integrate services for the family so that often a case management component is incorporated into the efforts. Moreover, two-generation programs, capitalizing on the dual involvement of children and families, structure separate and joint parent-child activities. Rather than being a serendipitous event, joint activities are used to build parents' observations and parenting skills.

Reflecting trends seeded earlier, two-generation programs focus on comprehensive services for children and parents. Though they are unique, they reflect the heritage of family support programs in that they stress prevention and early intervention, respect for the integrity of the family unit, and an understanding that parenting is a unique stage of development that demands special skills (Kagan, Powell, Weissbourd, & Zigler, 1987). Both two-generation and family support programs share common understandings that the primary responsibility for the well-being of the child lies within the family, that parents' sense of competence affects how they function as parents, that social support networks are essential to the well-being of families, and that child-rearing techniques and values are influenced by cultural and community values and mores. Perhaps most significant, two-generation and family support programs ground their efforts in a commitment to a dynamic life-cycle theory of development.

Current Two-Generation Efforts

Two-generation programs were given a huge boost practically by the passage of the Family Support Act in 1988 and conceptually by active work in the foundation community spearheaded by the Foundation for Child Development. Before these efforts took hold, two-generation programs existed but had no unique name; they were a small scattered array of promising efforts. With additional support from the U.S. Departments of Labor, Education, and Health and Human Services, two-generation programs are burgeoning. A few of the many exciting programs are reviewed below.

Head Start and JOBS

In 1990, ACYF funded twelve demonstration projects designed to link the Head Start and JOBS programs in innovative ways. The efforts aim to improve the lives of parents whose children are enrolled in Head Start by providing them with training and supports for entry or reentry to the paid labor force. Roughly, 50 percent of Head Start parents are AFDC recipients who are eligible to participate in the JOBS program. By encouraging collaboration between Head Start and JOBS, benefits--such as extended child care hours for Head Start children or case management strategies that address comprehensive family needs--are devised. Moreover, and particularly relevant to this analysis, it is suggested that Head Start sites be utilized as JOBS training sites for trainees interested in those occupations represented by the Head Start staff, such as early childhood education/care, nutrition, and social services. While individual projects are required to evaluate their programs and ACYF is conducting a national evaluation, results are not yet available.

Beyond services to the twelve funded sites, ACYF and FSA will encourage all Head Start and JOBS programs to collaborate in similar ways. They will assist those collaborations by disseminating information regarding issues involved in collaboration and by highlighting programs that have implemented successful two-generation collaborative efforts.

Even Start

Created by the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford improvement amendments to the Elementary and Secondary School Development Act of 1965, Even Start is another effort to improve educational opportunities for children and adults by integrating early childhood education and adult education, and then involving the participants together in family-centered education programs. The goals are (1) to help parents recognize that they can be the most effective teachers of their children; (2) to provide illiterate and semiliterate parents with the educational and parenting skills that can increase self-esteem and confidence in their ability to assist their children in the learning process; and (3) to enhance children's learning experiences in formal educational settings by providing them with a positive home environment that contributes to their motivation to learn. Reflecting these goals, Even Start has three basic components: (1) adult basic education, GED preparation, and literacy training; (2) early childhood education; and (3) parent-child programs designed to encourage interaction between generations and support healthy child development.

Unlike the Head Start/JOBS effort, Even Start is primarily school-based, with local school districts receiving funds. Although funds may be used to support community efforts, there is a tacit hope that Even Start will also help parents become full partners with schools in the education of their children. Funded through Chapter I of the ECIA, Even Start operates in 119 sites at present. Though evaluation results have not yet been released, data are being collected that will illuminate our understanding of both the process and the outcomes of Even Start (Abt Associates, 1990). Children will be followed at least through formal school entry, and program impact on parents' functional literacy and employment will be collected.

New Chance

With private-public funding from several foundations and the U.S. Department of Labor, the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation designed and oversees a sixteen-site comprehensive two-generation program for young mothers ages sixteen to twenty-two who are high school dropouts. Parents participate in structured, intensive activities for an average of thirty hours a week for up to eighteen months, including adult education, GED preparation, job training, life skills instruction, and parenting education. With a focus on case management and a linkage strategy, family planning and other health services are available for parents. Children are provided with on-site developmental child care and pediatric health services.

The demonstration is accompanied by an elaborate research effort that link implementation strategies to outcomes, using 2,200 randomly assigned treatment and control families. In addition to assessing outcomes such as parents' education and employment gains, repeat pregnancies and their effect, and children's health and development, researchers have identified outcome mediators that will be analyzed.

What makes New Chance unique among two-generation models that combine the goals of family self-sufficiency with healthy child development are the following factors: (1) the specificity of its target population--AFDC mothers who are sixteen to twenty-two and high school dropouts; (2) the size of its sample--2,200 families; (3) the intensity of the intervention, up to thirty hours a week for as long as eighteen months; (4) the delivery of services on site for parent and child during the first five to eight months of the program: and (5) the inclusion of mediators of outcomes in the research design as well as benefit cost analyses.

Expanded Child Care Options

Expanded Child Care Options (ECCO) is a research and demonstration project designed to investigate how differences in various levels of child care and family support service impact parent employment and child development outcomes. A part of FSA JOBS, the effort is also cofunded by two foundations, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and the state of New Jersey. ECCO is a longitudinal study, being conducted in three urban centers in New Jersey, and includes a total of 1,800 families who will be randomly assigned to three treatment groups: (1) basic child care, in which parents are offered the regular child care subsidy of the local welfare agency; (2) extended child care subsidies in which parents can receive subsidies that extend from under the age of three for the target group through the youngest child's entry into first grade; and (3) extended-enhanced child care in which parents can receive the extended child care subsidies described if they use designated providers of enhanced-quality care as defined by national standard setting organizations.

Families in the extended-enhanced child care treatment group will be involved in activities associated with two-generation models, such as employment readiness services for parents and child care enhanced to provide positive developmental outcomes for children. Monthly parent workshops focused on family concerns, such as child development, parenting skills, nutrition, and obtaining health care for parents and children, are provided. Special problems encountered by families will be assisted through the addition of a social services specialist to the staff, who will also be responsible for identifying and assisting with problems reported by parents and child care staff.

Since there is mounting evidence that the absence of affordable, reliable child care often interrupts the continuity of maternal employment (Polit & O'Hara, 1989), outcomes for mothers, such as levels of employment over a period of time, are a central concern of the research design. ECCO will begin to report ongoing findings in 1993.

Summary of Effects

As described, all of these two-generation programs have been established within the last four years, so with the exception of Even Start--which has just begun to report results, there is little hard data on promising effects. However, given the variety of dimensions being investigated and the differences in program models, much information to assist program designers should be available within the next two years.

TWO-GENERATION FAMILY LITERACY PROGRAMS

A subgroup of two-generation programs, family literacy programs stress the acquisition of literacy skills by parents through direct training and involvement in literacy activities with their children. The programs are predicated, first, on the belief that adult literacy is an essential skill and an employment prerequisite and, second, on the belief that literate parents and literacy-rich environments support children's development and readiness for formal school.

Evolution and Growth

Family literacy programs began as a grass-roots movement and have been formalized within the last five or six years through seven significant statutes at the federal level (Nickse, 1990). The seven pieces of federal legislation that may be utilized to support family literacy programs are (1) the Adult Education Act, P.L. 100-297, as amended (Titles II and III); (2) the Library Services and Construction Act (Titles I and VI), which provides grants to state and local public libraries for the support of literacy programs, with 2 percent of the 1989 grant awards in the area of intergenerational literacy programs; (3) the Head Start legislation as previously described that encourages grantees to use non-Head Start resources for implementing coordination with JOBS, which involves literacy training; (4) the Family Support Act of 1988 (Title IV-A), JOBS; (5) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended Chapter I (Title I) via Even Start; (6) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, (Title VII) Bilingual Education whose purpose is to provide families with limited English proficiency the opportunity to improve their literacy skills (under this discretionary program, funds are allocated to implement intergenerational literacy activities, which may include language instruction, survival skills, and parenting skills); and (7) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title III, Part B), Family School Partnership Program. The FSPP supports projects that increase the involvement of families in improving educational achievement of their children and may be utilized for family literacy activities. Given the increases in commitment through these programs, it is not surprising that efforts have proliferated at the state and local levels.

Parent and Child Education (PACE)

One of the pioneering state-level initiatives in two-generation family literacy programs is the Parent and Child Education (PACE) effort in Kentucky, which brings together early childhood, adult education, and family support in a unique manner. PACE is a state-funded family support and education program designed to break the generational cycle of undereducation. (In the 1980 census, Kentucky ranked fiftieth in the nation in high school graduates.)

In PACE, parents without high school credentials come to public schools where they are engaged in a series of independent and joint activities with their three- and four-year-old children. Typically, parents and children have breakfast together, and then children go off to their early education setting while parents attend adult education classes. Later in the morning, parents join their children in their classrooms where together they work with the materials and equipment and have lunch. While children nap, parents gather with teachers to review the morning's events. In this way, parents process and share their experiences as parents, in and outside the classroom environment (Herberle, 1990).

PACE has reached the measurable goals proposed in 1986. In each program year, (1) 70 percent of adult participants have either received a GED or raised their level by two grades as measured on the TABE; (2) children have shown an average 28 percent increase in developmental abilities as measured by a validated, criterion-referenced instrument; and (3) the majority of PACE graduates regularly attend school and have not been retained in grade. In terms of parent-child effects, Kim (1987, 1989) found a rise in parents' educational and vocational aspirations for their children's achievements and a decrease in reliance on spanking as a disciplinary measure. In a later report on the program, Hibpshman (1989) found that 63 of 145 PACE GED graduates were either working or enrolled in further educational efforts.

Based on these positive evaluation results, PACE expansion has been rapid. In 1986, six pilot PACE programs were funded. In 1990, the Kentucky General Assembly provided funds to expand PACE to thirty-three classrooms in thirty counties and school districts. The administration of the program was moved from the Kentucky Department of Education to a new Workforce Development Cabinet in state government.

The program continues to evolve and improve, seeking quality in all its components. The Family Resource Coalition is developing the PACE Family Support Curriculum and is training staff members in how to work with families. Training the adult education staff in Comprehensive Adult Student Systems, the whole language emergent literacy approach, and the High/Scope early childhood curriculum is part of implementation.

PACE provides clear lessons to be considered in program design for low-income participants. Aside from the positive effects cited here for adults and children, program designers should look closely at the basic operational model. This model recognizes the interdependency of the socializing forces of both family and school. By placing both adults and children in a school, the model not only utilizes a universal delivery system but also fosters an early partnership between family and school, a somewhat new experience for adult school dropouts, and a positive introductory experience to school for their children. It also serves as a model of collaboration utilizing national resources to support each component.

As Nickse (1990) notes, "since no one agency is an authority on child development, adult literacy and parenting, family programs use a multidisciplinary approach and that is best obtained through collaboration" (p. 39).

National Center for Family Literacy

Much that transpired in PACE has been utilized in the establishment of the National Center for Family Literacy, which opened its doors in July 1989 in Louisville, Kentucky, with funding from the Kenan Family Trust. The mission of the center is to promote family literacy programming and to see them implemented effectively across the nation. This is to be done by providing training to leaders and staff, conducting demonstration projects, publishing research, and spreading the word about family literacy. Kenan, using a refined PACE model, now dubbed the Kenan Family Literacy Model Program, initiated demonstration projects in seven pilot sites, three in Louisville and four in North Carolina, during the 1988-89 school year. Bringing undereducated women and their preschool children to school three days each week, these pilots used the four components established by PACE: adult education classes for parents, preschool classes for children, parent and child together time (PACT), and parent time (PT). The Kenan Family Literacy Model added two components not part of PACE: (1) a component where each parent volunteers for work in the school, allowing parents to gain work experience and become more comfortable in the school setting, and (2) provision of an incentive of fifty dollars for books and learning materials given to families who maintain a solid attendance record.

Evaluation results are extremely promising. In the first full year of the program (1988-89), 85 percent of parents increased their academic aptitude scores by two or more grade levels or passed the GED exam. The children improved their cognitive and social development skills by at least 67 percent. Research is being conducted on types of parents in the program: eight types have been identified for study. A data base of case studies of all participants in 1988-89 has been established to support long-term research on the effectiveness of this model and to support research on intergenerational influences (Darling & Hayes, 1989).

IMPLICATIONS

From the limited but growing body of research, we see that two-generation family literacy programs are effective in that children and adults can make developmental progress. We see evidence of enhanced parenting ability and of the efficacy of combining multiple program goals into a single intervention. As such, the two-generation efforts may be regarded as programmatic prototypes for our training/parenting efforts.

What is not known presently are potential beneficial spinoffs in the reciprocity of effects that relate to the parent-child-school relationship. It is hoped that, as expanded evaluative efforts are in place for both PACE and the Kenan Trust Model, more information will be forthcoming on the reciprocity of the teaching/learning process for both parents and children, since reciprocity of effect seems to be an integral part of two-generation programs.

In addition, these programs have much to teach about organization and structure. It is interesting to note that many of the program designs reviewed here suggest a trend toward locating programs at a common site for parents and children--a child care center, a school, or a higher education institution that includes a child care center. Many of these programs contain components that involve parents and children participating in common experiences, whether in a formal classroom setting or at informal potluck suppers. Many of these programs provide ancillary services to parents and children including food, transportation, and social services. A growing trend toward case management as a principal modality is also evident in the review.

CHAPTER 16

IMPLICATIONS OF THE EFFORTS

As past and current training models have been reviewed in this section, most have reflected an overall goal of increasing the potential of adults and children to function well, as full participants in our society. These efforts, whether primarily directed at the child, the parents, the child and parents, or the whole family, have all subscribed to the theory that developing parents' human capital--the knowledge and attitudes they impart to their children--will have a positive effect on the long-range success of both generations.

Even a cursory examination of the historical evolution of these interventions that have attempted to break the cycle of poverty and dependency produces two important overall lessons: (1) the family unit, with its potential for reciprocal effects between two generations, is the preferred target for future efforts, and (2) motivation for adult learners to participate is dependent on the ability of the program model to cast training in a functional context that not only provides an attainable goal for the adult but also is directly tied to the future and success of the children.

Implications for future program design of the training/parenting intervention are divided into four categories: (1) support services, (2) content of curriculum, (3) instructional strategies, and (4) dual role considerations related to parenting and teaching.

Implications for Support Services

1. Findings from Fresh Start in the 1970s to recent MFSP evaluations suggest that the burdens that training imposes on low-income mothers are heavy. Attention and resources must be devoted to providing an array of support services, including child care. Recently, because a paucity of child care has created a barrier to adult participation in job training and because of the extensive costs of care--sometimes up to 50 percent of training budgets--attention is focused on child care enhancements. The ECCO demonstration will assess the impact of the provision of high-quality child care and its relationship to the long-range effects for children and adults. Although there is a recognition in this section of the necessity of a myriad of support services such as counseling and transportation during orientation and in postemployment segments, we look upon the provision of child care

in our proposed project as particularly critical. The child-parent experience in child care powerfully influences both the job performance of the adult and the parent-child interactions.

2. Many programs, such as the PCCs and CFRPs, demonstrated early on that support services were most effectively utilized to achieve adult empowerment when they were integrated. Such integration of services is important because, as we have seen, it is not simply the number of services available but the way in which they are made accessible for parents. Accessing an array of services in a central location is ideal because it allows for parent choice and creates the potential for the development of personalized supportive networks.

Implications for the content of the Curriculum

1. Many job-training initiatives, including GAIN and the Syracuse program, have urged that the curriculum be developed so that trainees will be able concurrently to apply theoretical knowledge in concrete settings. The culmination of these findings is evident in the competency-based approach of CDA, which has the added benefits of an individualized approach offered within a supportive context. Job training evaluations, such as MFSP demonstration, also point out the efficacy of a self-paced, competency-based curriculum.

2. There is no dearth of curriculum materials produced by the training programs and by educational and private initiatives. Program designers have to deal not with a lack of programs but with how such programs may be incorporated or adapted for their particular intervention or population. Moreover, we are collectively challenged to develop guidelines for curriculum content and a systematic approach to evaluating the effects of specific content.

3. A need to develop guidelines for the training of trainers has been evident since the earliest CWLA effort. More work is needed to create appropriate training models for individual trainers because each brings to the training program a particular curriculum orientation from his or her own domain. Helping trainers incorporate approaches that support learners' self-esteem and autonomy are critical to the delivery of an effective training/parenting program.

Implications for Instructional Strategies

1. The movement away from traditional academic approaches over a thirty-year period is apparent; more and more, interventions have attempted to make their programs meaningful and valuable for trainees. One intent of the Syracuse program was to demonstrate the use of a variety of teaching strategies. In order to identify the usefulness of specific strategies, feedback was constantly requested from the trainees. Strategies that are flexible and that are adjusted to changing job market requirements, changing family structures, cultural differences, and developmental status of the trainees should guide program design.

2. Strategically, we have seen a growing trend to incorporate children and parents together in the learning setting. This strategy, evidenced long ago in Head Start, is particularly potent, given the joint goals of this training/parenting effort. Designing an intervention that allows parents time to reflect on the nature of their interactions with children--their own and others--and that lends adult peer support simultaneously seems to be an important structural consideration.

Implications for Teaching and Parenting

1. There is a need to distinguish between the responsibilities of parenting and teaching and to help trainees understand the transferability and nontransferability of roles.

2. While we assume synergy between teaching and parenting roles (and little in the literature refutes that assumption, particularly for very young children), we need to look objectively at the counterinfluences on job effectiveness for the adult as well as developmental influences on the child.

3. Curriculum materials have addressed parenting or job preparation. Few combine these skills. Building on the strengths of extant curriculum in both areas, we will need to consider curricular alternatives that will be in accord with our dual mission. The development of materials for adults and children to understand the differences between these two roles would help delineate overlaps and provide a more positive effect for both generations.

SECTION IV

CRITICAL ISSUES IN THE FIELD

The purpose of this section is to raise some of the critical issues in the field that might influence the implementation of the training/parenting program. Though early care and education in our nation face many serious challenges, we have elected to focus on three that are germane to our work. In chapter 17, we address posttraining availability of jobs for this population. To train individuals when there is little prospect of gainful employment seems unjust, if not cruel. Hence, we assess the present and future viability of the child care market and the need for trained caregivers. In chapter 18, we turn to the related question of career advancement in the field. Often dubbed "dead-end," jobs in early care and education have been thought to offer little opportunity for career growth and mobility. What is the status of career ladders in the field? What potential do they signal? Finally, in chapter 19, recognizing that cost of implementing the proposed training/parenting effort is high, we turn to an analysis of potential revenue sources that might be suitable to advance the work of this project.

CHAPTER 17

CHILD CARE WORKER SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an economic analysis of the current state of the child care industry in order to illustrate the employment situation our trainees will face after the completion of their training program. Our goal is to examine whether there will be employment positions available for these women to fill. To do this will require an analysis of the demand for child care services (who purchases child care services and the associated prices) and the supply of child care services (who provides child care services and the associated prices), as well as an analysis of the impacts of government policy.

The chapter is organized as follows. The first two sections will introduce basic economic terms in order to define what is meant by equilibrium in the child care market and to discuss whether market failures exist, thereby justifying government intervention into the child care market. The third and fourth sections will focus on the characteristics of demand and supply and how they have changed over time. The fifth section will examine the role of government subsidies in the child care industry. The last section will focus on the match between supply and demand, and describe what we have learned from the preceding analysis in terms of predicting the future job opportunities for our trainees.

EQUILIBRIUM IN THE MARKET: IS THERE A SHORTAGE OF CHILD CARE?

Economists use the concept of the market to explain all transactions conducted between buyers and sellers. In every market for a particular good or service, there exists both a demand and a supply for this product. Demand represents the amount of the product consumers would want to purchase (quantity demanded) over a range of prices. Economists postulate that as the price of the product rises, the quantity demanded will decrease. Supply represents the amount of the product producers would want to produce and sell (quantity supplied) over a range of prices. Economists postulate that as the price of the product rises, the quantity supplied will increase. Equilibrium in a market occurs when the quantity demanded is exactly equal to the quantity supplied, and the price at which this occurs is termed the market clearing price. At this price, the quantity that consumers wish to buy is just equal to the quantity producers wish to sell.

In general, economists believe that, if left alone, markets will adjust to equilibrium. For instance, suppose that the market was out of equilibrium, such that at the market price, quantity supplied exceeded quantity demanded--that is, at the market price, consumers wanted to purchase less than producers wanted to supply. Hence, there would be an excess supply, and producers would lower the price in order to try to sell this excess. At a lower price, the quantity demanded would increase, eventually eliminating the excess supply and reestablishing equilibrium. In this manner, markets tend to adjust to establish and maintain equilibrium.

Markets may be prevented from adjusting to equilibrium if there is interference with this adjustment process. There are all sorts of potential interferences. For instance, rent control is a type of government intervention, which acts by imposing a maximum price for rental services. If this maximum price is set below the market clearing price, then imposing this rent control will lead to shortages in the rental market. At the low controlled price, the quantity demanded of rental housing will increase (because rental housing is cheaper), but the quantity supplied of rental housing will decrease (because it is less profitable). Hence, there will be an excess demand or shortage of rental housing, and the market will not be able to clear.

Whenever there is a shortage in any market, the quantity that is available must be rationed in some way. In other words, since the market is prevented from functioning, and there are more potential buyers than suppliers, there must be some mechanism that allocates the scarce supply. One type of rationing mechanism is waiting in line. Others issue coupons limiting the amount one is allowed to purchase or they establish a waiting list. The main point is that if a market is prevented from adjusting to equilibrium, there must be a rationing mechanism. In the absence of intervention, the market itself is the rationing device. Those who purchase the good at equilibrium are the ones who are willing to pay the market clearing price.

Thus, to an economist, a shortage implies the existence of excess quantity demanded over quantity supplied. In the context of child care, a shortage would occur if more people wanted to buy child care at the available market price than is currently available. For this to happen, there would have to be some type of regulation, intervention, or mechanism that keeps the price of child care below the market clearing price. Possible examples would include the state limiting the price one can charge for child care. If there were a shortage, then we would expect to see evidence of rationing the scarce child care--for instance, waiting lists.

In reality, there appears to be little evidence of a current overall shortage of child care. On an aggregate basis, there are more than enough licensed slots available for U.S. preschoolers to fill current demand, and there is little widespread evidence of long waiting lists at centers, which are the form of child care most widely utilized (Hofferth & Phillips, 1991). There are, of course, different submarkets for child care, such as infant or preschool, meaning that the market should be divided into the demand and supply of infant care, the demand and supply for preschooler care, and so forth. There is some evidence that there are different utilization rates among varying programs (e.g., infant, toddlers), varying settings (e.g., centers, family day care), and geographical location. For instance, Kisker, Hofferth, and Phillips (1991) show that centers have higher utilization rates than regulated family day care, with centers having an average utilization rate of 88 percent, versus 82 percent for family day care. They suggest, however, that in many local areas, centers are operating at capacity, but note that "the market seems to be working to increase supply as demand expands."

Although there is no evidence that there is a shortage of child care, this is not equivalent to assuming that everyone who wants child care buys child care. Other people may wish to buy child care, but not at the going market price. The market has cleared, but it may have cleared at a price that is higher than what some individuals are willing or able to pay. Willingness to pay the market price "reveals" that the child care service is worth at least that much to them, given their income levels and the price of other goods. If one's income is low, not buying child care reveals that the value of that child care to the person is less than the market price. For instance, if child care costs a high percentage of one's income such that one would have to forego necessities such as food and shelter, it would not be surprising that one would not purchase child care. It simply is not worth the price. For instance, in 1990, families with an employed mother paid an average of $63 for child care for all their children, or about $1.56 per hour of child care. This works out to about 11 percent of the average family income, about 5 percent of the income of high-income families, and 20 to 25 percent of the income of low-income families (Hofferth, Brayfield, Deich, & Holcomb, 1991).

MARKET FAILURE: ARE REGULATIONS AND SUBSIDIES JUSTIFIED?

Another economics issue in the child care industry is whether there is a market failure in the industry, thereby justifying government intervention into the industry. A market failure occurs when the market is in equilibrium, but the equilibrium price and quantity are not socially optimal, meaning that society would be better off overall at some other price and output level of child care. A market failure can occur for a variety of reasons, but we will concentrate on the ones most relevant to the child care market. There seem to be two possible sources of market failure in the child care industry, lack of information and external benefits.

A market failure occurs when there is a lack of information about the good or service. For instance, individuals may lack information on the price, quality, and availability of child care. There is evidence that access to child care openings may be limited because of a lack of information networks (Kisker & Maynard, 1989). The child care market operates very informally; individuals find child care through friends, neighbors, and relatives. Most family day care and child care centers do not advertise. This may lead to matching problems, with some individuals being unable to find child care and suppliers being unable to fill slots. This is not socially optimal because both parties could potentially be better off. A possible solution is for the government to intervene and make information more readily available.

In addition, there may be information difficulties relating to the quality of child care provided because parents may be unable to observe the degree of child care quality they are purchasing. This is one rationale for the government to impose regulations, such as minimum child-staff ratios, so that the parent has a better idea of the quality of the service being provided.

A different market failure occurs when the private individuals involved in transactions fail to take into account all the social costs and benefits of their actions. In the language of economics, an "externality" occurs, which can be either positive or negative. An example of a negative externality occurs when a firm produces steel but, while doing so, pollutes a river. The firm will take into account only its private costs of production and will ignore the additional costs it imposes on society by polluting the river, thereby leading to a socially unacceptable amount of steel production.

In the context of child care, it appears that there are positive externalities that result from child care. When parents purchase child care, presumably they are paying for the benefit of having their children cared for during a time when they are unable to provide the care themselves. However, there may be other benefits that result when child care is purchased, which the parent does not consider. For instance, the children may benefit from the service by meeting new children, learning games, and promoting their development, which may lead to their becoming more secure and independent individuals, thereby being able to contribute more productively to society. This would be one type of external benefit. Another external benefit can arise from the fact that lower child care costs lead to more women entering the labor market, thereby also benefiting society through increased output and benefiting the government through increased tax revenues. The point is that the social benefits to society from an individual purchasing child care are greater than the benefits the individual receives and, hence, "not enough" child care will be purchased if markets are left alone. In other words, since child care generates additional social benefits, the government will want to encourage the purchase of child care, so that the socially optimal level of child care will be produced and "consumed." One way to do this is for the government to intervene by subsidizing child care, so that the true benefits and costs to society are taken into account.

A major difficulty in practice with subsidies is deciding on the amount of the subsidy. Ideally, the amount should reflect the additional social benefits generated by the child care, but these are exceedingly difficult to measure and naturally subject to great disagreement. For instance, some might argue that child care generates so many external benefits that the government should completely subsidize child care so that the effective price to consumers is zero. In actuality, the government does heavily subsidize child care. The federal government has allocated $8 billion for fiscal year 1991 (Hofferth & Phillips, 1991), up from $2.8 billion in 1980 and $5.5 billion in 1986 (Kahn & Kamerman, 1987). We will further discuss government subsidies and their effects later in the chapter.

DEMAND IN THE CHILD CARE INDUSTRY

What determines demand in the child care industry? It depends on many variables, including the number of children in the population, the number with mothers in the labor force, the substitutes available, consumer income levels, and individual preferences.

There is little doubt that the demand for child care has been increasing since women began entering the labor force in larger numbers. Over the last twenty years, the percentage of children under five with mothers in the labor force increased from 29 percent to 54 percent (Hofferth et al., 1991). There has also been an increase in the overall number of children arising from the currently large cohort of women of childbearing age. Both of these trends are expected to lead to continued large increases in the number of children with mothers in the labor force. According to Hofferth and Phillips (1987), by 1995, two out of three preschool children will have mothers in the labor force, for a total of 15 million children. Of school-age children, two-thirds had mothers in the labor force in 1986, and this figure is expected to rise to three-quarters by 1995.

The above figures, while useful, do not by themselves tell us what the demand for child care will be in the future. What we need to know is how many individuals will want to purchase child care at the going market price, and this will be affected by the other factors affecting demand noted above. For instance, one substitute for child care is school. Hofferth et al. (1991) show that more and more children are entering school at an earlier age, which naturally would tend to reduce the demand for child care for these children. Another important point is that as more and more women enter the labor force, the number of women available for informal child care (relatives, sitters) will necessarily decline, implying that the available child care options will change (Connelly, 1989).

There is not just one type of out-of-home child care; the choices include regulated family day care, unregulated family day care, centers, and relatives. One can view these as separate demands (e.g., the demand for center child care), but one must remember that these demands are interdependent. For instance, if the price of child care in family day care decreases, one would expect an increase in the quantity demanded of family day care and a decrease in the demand of other forms of child care. In addition, the choice of child care is affected by one's income level. The poor spend less on child care than the well-off, implying they make different child care choices. To the extent that the distribution of income changes, this will also affect the demand for the various forms of child care.

Demand can also be affected by government policy toward child care because policy can affect the determinants of demand. There is some recent evidence demonstrating that child care costs affect women's decisions to enter the labor force. For instance, Blau and Robins (1988) and Connelly (1989) have both found that higher child care costs lead to a lower likelihood of women entering the labor force. Blau and Robins found that higher child care costs also lead women who are employed to be more likely to leave the labor force. Connelly found that the lower labor market participation rate of mothers with preschoolers was completely explainable by higher child care costs. She also found that mothers of children who are less than three have lower labor market participation rates even after controlling for the cost of child care. Hence, she predicts that a policy lowering child care costs for young children would increase the labor force participation rate of mothers whose youngest child is a preschooler more than those with infants. The point here is that these studies show that lowering child care costs can induce some women who would otherwise not find it worthwhile to enter the labor force, and this will affect the demand for child care.

One way to predict the future demand for child care is to make inferences based on the current and past demand for the distinct child care services. In 1990, 47 percent of preschoolers with mothers in the labor force were cared for by a parent or relative, 28 percent were in day care centers, 20 percent were in family day care homes, and 3 percent were cared for by a sitter (Hofferth et al., 1991). Since 1965, there have been declines in care by sitters and relatives, and increases in center care. For instance, in 1965, child care centers were the primary care arrangement for only 6 percent of employed mothers, but have since increased to 28 percent in 1990. Conversely, the importance of relatives as primary child care arrangements for employed mothers has declined from 33 percent in 1965 to 19 percent in 1990. Care in centers is now as common an arrangement as care by a parent.

Hofferth and Phillips (1987) demonstrate that the most rapid growth among child care use of employed mothers is occurring among infants and toddlers. The group of full-time employed mothers is shifting away from infant and toddler child care provided by relatives or family day care homes in favor of group care programs, while the group of part-time employed mothers still relies more heavily on family day care. Overall, they conclude that it seems likely that the overall demand for center care will continue to grow and the demand for care by relatives will shrink, with expected large increases in the demand for infant child care.

SUPPLY IN THE CHILD CARE INDUSTRY

The supply of child care is mainly determined by the costs of production. The largest costs of production in the child care industry are labor costs. These account for about 70 percent of the cost of care in child care centers (Culkin, Morris, & Helburn, 1991). These costs will largely determine the quantity of child care supplied at a given price level.

The supply of licensed centers and their capacity doubled over the period 1976-86 (Hofferth & Phillips, 1991). For instance, the number of regulated child care centers has tripled since 1976 and the number of regulated family day care programs has increased by about one-third since 1976. There is some evidence that group care programs are expanding capacity to care for infants and toddlers, the age-group showing the greatest increase in use of center-based care. A higher proportion than ever before of children in centers and regulated family day care homes is aged two or younger. (Hofferth & Phillips, 1987; Kisker et al., 1991).

In terms of the quality of child care, it appears that on several measures, the quality of child care supplied may have declined. Kisker et al. (1991) find that average group sizes increased by 16 percent between 1976 and 1990, with all age groups experiencing these increases. They also find that the average child-staff ratio rose from 6.8 children in 1976 to 8.5 children in 1990 and that children of a greater age range are now more likely to be cared for together.

What has happened to the price of child care? According to Kisker et al. (1991), the price of child care in centers has not changed at all in real terms since 1976. The national average hourly cost for children in centers in 1990 was $1.51. They note that parental fees compose a larger percentage of the budget of centers while government funds compose a smaller percentage. For regulated family day care programs, nonsponsored providers have experienced a 14 percent increase in real hourly fees, while sponsored providers have experienced a decline in real fees, such that the fees charged by nonsponsored providers are now about equal to those charged by sponsored providers.

As we noted earlier, the main factor affecting the supply of child care (and hence the price and output level of child care) is the cost of labor. The supply of child care is greatly affected by the supply of child care workers because this supply will largely determine the costs of child care. The supply of child care workers reflects the quantity of child care labor that individuals are willing to supply at particular wage rates.

In 1990, the average hourly wage earned by preschool teachers was $7.49 and the average hourly wage earned by regulated family day care providers was $4.04 (Kisker et al., 1991). The wages of child care workers have remained constant in real terms from 1976 to 1986 despite the fact that there have been substantial real increases in child care subsidies (Kisker et al., 1991; Blau, 1989). This is somewhat surprising because, as we have demonstrated earlier, the demand for child care has been increasing and hence, the demand for child care workers has presumably also been increasing. Under these conditions, one would expect to have witnessed increased wages (and increased prices for child care). One implication of these facts is that the supply of child care labor and the supply of child care services is quite elastic, meaning it is very responsive to small changes in price and wages.

If the supply of child care is elastic, this means that if the wages paid to workers rise a very small amount, the number of individuals willing to work in child care increases by a very large amount. Hence, if the demand for child care workers increases (from an increase in the demand for child care), this will lead to a large increase in the number of workers in child care and a very small or negligible increase in the wage rate paid. If the supply of child care workers is inelastic, a large increase in demand would lead to a small increase in the number of workers in child care and a large increase in the wage rate paid. One implication of an elastic supply of child care workers is that it is very difficult for government policy to raise the wages paid to child care workers. As Blau (1989) shows, under these conditions, the benefits of government subsidies will not accrue to child care workers.

It is also true that the real price of child care has remained relatively constant over the last twenty years, although government subsidies have increased and the demand for child care has increased. This implies that the supply of child care is also very elastic--that is, that a small increase in the price of child care would lead to a very large increase in the quantity of child care willing to be supplied. In other words, whenever child care begins to become slightly more profitable (from a higher price paid), suppliers become willing to supply an additional large quantity of child care.

Why should the supply of child care and the supply of child care workers be so elastic? We can only speculate here, but it appears that it is easy to "enter" the child care industry (few barriers exist), and it is also easy to expand the capacity of already existing child care suppliers. For instance, to enter nonlicensed family day care requires no capital and few skills. Similarly, expanding capacity in child care centers may only require hiring an additional worker, which is likely to be easy since the supply of labor seems to be so elastic. The elasticity of child care worker supply may be more difficult to explain. One could argue it is easy to become a child care worker. Perhaps it is also possible that there are many people who are qualified for child care positions, so that when wages begin to increase slightly, these individuals are easily able to switch occupations.

It remains unclear why, given their overall high education and experience levels, child care workers are willing to work for such low wages. Culkin et al. (1991) estimate that the average child care teacher in a center is foregoing $99 to $433 per month by working in child care. In other words, given their experience and educational levels, they could expect to earn this much extra elsewhere. There is, however, a high turnover rate among child care workers. Phillips, Howes, and Whitebook (1991) note that the U.S. Department of Labor has estimated that 42 percent of all non-home-based child care workers must be replaced each year simply to keep supply stable. However, there does not currently seem to be difficulty with finding replacements, although one method of "replacement" may be increasing child-staff ratios. Phillips et al. (1991) do find that low staff wages are the most important predictor of job turnover among child care staff.

THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

The federal government is widely perceived to possess the ability to alter the price, quantity, and quality of child care available. In this section we concentrate on the role of government subsidies and how they affect the market for child care. We describe the different types of subsidies and analyze their effect on the price and quantity of child care.

There are two routes through which government subsidies can affect the child care market. The government can subsidize on the demand side or on the supply side. In other words, the government can provide subsidies to consumers of child care or to the suppliers of child care. Examples of subsidies to consumers of child care include tax credits; examples of subsidies to suppliers of child care include spending on Head Start and the Social Services Block Grant.

Real subsidies have been increasing over time, and there has been a shift from subsidies paid to child care suppliers to subsidies paid to child care consumers (Kahn & Kamerman, 1987). The main subsidies are the Dependent Care Tax Credit, Head Start, and funding under Title XX of the Social Security Act (the Social Services Block Grant). The Dependent Care Tax Credit has been greatly expanded while funding under Title XX has been cut. By 1986, the Dependent Care Tax Credit accounted for more than 60 percent of all federal child care spending (Kahn & Kamerman, 1987). The Dependent Care Tax Credit subsidizes child care by allowing the subtraction of 20 to 30 percent of child care expenses from the taxes owed to the federal government (Child Care Action Campaign, 1988). It is not refundable, meaning that if one does not owe any taxes, there can be no benefit received from the Dependent Care Tax Credit. Head Start provides compensatory education to preschool children, 90 percent of whom must come from poor families, and Title XX is the major federal funding source available for states to use to subsidize child care for low-income families (Child Care Action Campaign, 1988).

An important point relating to subsidies is that the beneficiaries of the subsidy are not necessarily those to whom the subsidy is paid. In fact, for a given subsidy, who actually receives the subsidy may be irrelevant to who benefits from the subsidy. For a particular market, a given subsidy on the demand side has precisely the same impact as a subsidy on the supply side. Who benefits is largely determined by how elastic the demand and supply of child care are, to which we now turn.

We have already shown that the supply of child care is very elastic. The demand for child care would also be elastic if a small decrease (increase) in the price of child care led to a large increase (decrease) in the quantity demanded of child care. Most necessities, such as food and housing, have very inelastic demands (because there are no substitutes), whereas most luxuries have elastic demands. A detailed analysis is not possible here, but we would speculate that the overall demand for child care is relatively inelastic (the children must be cared for), but there may be some substitutability between different types of child care.

If supply is elastic and demand is inelastic, then a given subsidy, regardless of its recipient, will mainly benefit the consumer. That is, the subsidy will mainly reduce the effective price the consumer pays for services rather than significantly increasing the effective price the child care supplier receives. The consumer will experience a large decrease in the effective price (after subsidies) paid for child care, while the supplier will experience only a small increase in the price received for child care. The subsidy will also lead to an increase in the quantity of child care consumed and supplied.

This explanation accords with the available data on what has happened in the child care industry. Despite greatly increasing demand, the real price of child care has not increased. With subsidies, it appears that the real price of child care to consumers has actually decreased, whereas the real price that suppliers receive has remained about the same.

What the above analysis demonstrates is that the choice between giving a subsidy to particular consumers versus giving that subsidy to the child care providers is irrelevant. To generalize this to the entire child care market, however, we would have to assume that subsidies apply equally to all consumers and that all consumers compete in the same market. If low-income families compete in different child care markets than other families, then the above does not strictly apply. For instance, within the current context, spending on Head

Start can be thought of as subsidizing the separate market of child care for low-income families. The Dependent Care Tax Credit equally subsidizes all individuals in the child care market, except for the low-income group that does not have sufficient income to be able to benefit from the tax credit. Hence, spending on Head Start and spending on the Dependent Care Tax Credit will not have equivalent impacts on the price and output of child care. They have different impacts, not because one is demand-oriented and one is supply-oriented, but because they are targeted at different markets.

IMPLICATIONS:
EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE PROSPECTS FOR CHILD CARE TRAINEES

We have found that the demand for child care has been growing over the past thirty years and that this demand is expected to continue. We have seen that the demand for child care in centers is likely to be the sector with the greatest growth in demand. We have also found that the demand for infant and toddler care is expected to grow at a faster rate than other age groups because women are increasingly returning to the labor force at an earlier time after childbirth. Thus, the group most likely to be assured of future employment positions are those trained for center care of infants and toddlers.

In terms of what our trainees can expect to earn as wages, at best they can expect to earn what the average center teacher earns. In 1990, the average full-time center teacher earned $12,390 (Kisker et al., 1991). It seems unlikely that wages of child care workers will significantly increase any time soon. As noted above, they have largely remained the same in real terms for the last twenty years, despite increased demand and increased government subsidies. Unless the supply of child care workers decreases or becomes less elastic (i.e., workers become less responsive to small changes in their wages), wages are likely to remain low. Government subsidies simply do not currently appear to be able to have much of an impact on increasing worker wages.

In summary, given the increasing demand, it seems highly probable that our trainees will be able to find employment. Whether they will be able to escape poverty is less certain.

CHAPTER 18

CAREER LADDERS IN CHILD CARE

Having ascertained in the preceding chapter that there will be a need for trained child care workers, we turn to the question of whether the field can provide sufficient career opportunities to sustain individuals in the field once they have been trained. Often termed "dead-end," jobs in child care and early education are widely perceived to afford little career mobility and salary advancement. The purpose of this chapter is to examine that allegation by reviewing the current and potential status of career ladders. What do we mean by "career ladders"? Do they exist? And what options do they or might they afford for career advancement?

DEFINING CAREER LADDERS

The concept of a career ladder in the early care and education field is not new, but it is undergoing some dramatic reinterpretations. Conventionally, the term has been used in early care and education, much as it has in other fields, to refer to a prescribed system for entry and advancement.

Recently, however, new dimensions have been added to the conceptualization of career ladders within the field. Morgan (1991) suggests that the concept in early care and education needs to have three critical features. First, a career ladder should enable an individual to enter the field at the level for which he or she is already qualified by virtue of education and experience, but then it should also enable the individual to move on to other positions through further training and experience. This construct is intended to apply equally to entry-level staff with no formal training and to those who enter the field having already earned a formal degree. In other words, it provides for career mobility rather than static assignment based on preservice training. Second, career ladders in early care and education must emphasize the importance of recruiting individuals who are members of the same communities as the children and families being served. Third, it requires the definition of a range of career steps and types of positions that recognize different levels of preparation, experience, interest, and desire for career mobility. Embedded in this vision of career ladders is a commitment to the advancement of all, with particular emphasis on community-based individuals.

RENEWED ATTENTION TO EARLY CARE AND EDUCTION TRAINING

Why has this new vision of career ladders emerged recently? On the one hand, it is a corollary of the expansion being experienced by the field. More slots for children suggests more opportunities for staff, either for recruits to the field or for those already in it to advance. But this is not the only reason. A second reason arises from a body of literature gathered over time regarding the relationship between provider training and experience and child outcome (Ruopp, Travers, Glantz, & Coelen, 1979). It has long been suggested that the quality of the child's experience in early care and education settings is most directly related to the quality of the provider. This direct link between child outcome and staff quality was clearly verified in a recent national study on child care staff that clearly reaffirmed the links among the formal training of the practitioner, the quality of care, and positive social and cognitive developmental outcomes experienced by children (Whitebook, Howes, & Phillips, 1990).

A third reason for concern stems from disaffection with the system of staff training and career development that presently exists in the field. Such disaffection emanates from concern about the system's ability to produce sufficient numbers of individuals for the field. Costley (1988) demonstrated that even if all the graduates of two- and four-year college training programs became child care teachers (which could never be the case), there would still be extreme shortfalls in the number of qualified staff needed. She suggested that the field should shift its emphasis to developing more accessible and responsive training programs that would be based on a career development model for current child care staff. A fourth concern about the current system stems from its questionable ability to produce high-quality trainees. Challenging the adequacy and cohesion of the entire training system, Peters (1988) suggests that the early childhood training system is a chaotic non-system of preservice and inservice training.

A fifth reason for the emphasis on career development is that the field has come to general agreement on what constitutes quality care for children, so it is now turning its attention to staffing. Not surprisingly, it finds little agreement on what should constitute formal training, entry points, or career ladders. Noting the ambiguity, Bredekamp (1990b) indicates that there is little consensus on the minimum levels of hours and credits needed to adequately prepare early childhood educators, and on the professional roles and responsibilities to be assumed at the various levels. She notes that there appear to be emerging needs for training that the field is not prepared to handle. Affirming the lack of consensus, Howes (1990) suggests that "knowledge of the level of preparation and ongoing training of providers is far from complete . . . . the process of getting reliable information on training is complicated by several other issues, among them inadequately differentiated and elaborated categories of training." Similar concerns were echoed by a national panel of experts convened by the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations (Copple, 1990; Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 1990).

Several additional factors shape the zeitgeist: (1) training requirements established by the state child care licensing agencies vary dramatically; (2) definitions of professionalism established by the field, particularly through its professional organizations, are in the process of being codified; and (3) policies establishing the levels of compensation for providers in the field are undergoing close scrutiny with the advent of unionization in isolated communities in the nation. Not easy to tackle individually, these factors present formidable obstacles when united.

EFFORTS TO DEVELOP CAREER LADDERS IN THE FIELD

For many of these reasons, efforts to create career ladders historically have not been fully successful or fully implemented. Often, a local child care program with an inventive director would create a career ladder program for the staff involved in that effort. But such ladders, though important within individual programs, were rarely transferable across programs and seldom carried with them significant financial benefits. Learning from these past attempts, those currently devising viable career ladders for the field are trying to make them more comprehensive in orientation. Rather than focusing on individual programs, the new, second-stage career ladder efforts are aimed at systemic understanding and reform. Attempts are being made to research the problems and barriers, create new models to respond to the need for career development systems, and address endemic issues in training and higher education.

The Center for Career Development at Wheelock College in Boston, one of the components of the Centers for Child Care Policy and Training, was established in early 1991 with funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Ford Foundation. It is currently engaged in two national efforts. The first is a national study of the current state of the career development system for early childhood in the United States, reviewing state policy in child care licensing and teacher certification and the design and availability of early childhood teacher training programs suited to the needs and issues of adult learners in early childhood settings. The study also examines funding mechanisms for child care including federal and state dollars and funds from private foundations and initiatives. The other effort is examining promising models in five states that are attempting to create effective strategies for planning and implementation of career system models. The most extensive of these efforts is the collaboration with the Delaware First ... Again! project, which is developing the first statewide comprehensive career development system.

The Child Care Employee Project (CCEP) is continuing its research and advocacy efforts on the status, compensation, and training of child care workers. One of its activities is the design and implementation of a mentor-teacher training model in northern California, in collaboration with the Wheelock Center. CCEP also continues to develop and publish a broad array of articles and curricula relating to aspects of the staffing issue.

NAEYC, the national early childhood professional organization, has been concerned with the professional development issue for some years and, with input from the field, is developing a career ladder. Augmented by funding from Carnegie, NAEYC will launch a Center for Professional Development that will accelerate work in this area.

These efforts indicate that there is a great deal of new activity nationally on the career development/career ladder issue. Though encouraging, these efforts signal the recognition of a stacked set of complex problems. First, there is concern whether the diverse field of early care and education can arrive at a consensus on what constitutes a career ladder. Second, new policy initiatives and system changes will need to take root within the entire system of formal and informal teacher preparation. Third, and perhaps most complex, strategies to fund the increasing salaries that accompany career ladders must be developed.

Given these challenges, it seems highly unlikely that a system for career development will be institutionalized prior to the inception of the training/parenting program. But the importance of advancement opportunities for trainees is not to be minimized. Consequently, in selecting sites for the training effort, we will need to consider whether the presence of a locally designed and operated career ladder is an independent or dependent variable in the analysis.

CHAPTER 19

SOURCES FOR FUNDING TRAINING

In this chapter, we review the array of federal programs and sources that may be used to fund training and staff development activities in the field. Despite this litany of potential sources, it is important to note that with the possible exceptions of the Head Start and CDA training monies, there is no mandate to provide early care and education training under the programs listed below. Legislation and program regulations are permissive. Even in the new Child Care and Development Block Grant, training is a competing priority with other quality enhancements including resource and referral services, licensing improvements, and the funding of direct services. Consequently, these options, though apparently robust, must be regarded conservatively.

The programs described below are divided into three categories: (1) those programs that clearly and directly relate to the provision of child care services and specifically provide for or allow the use of funds for training child care staff and providers; (2) those programs whose primary intent is to address a specific social or educational need among one or more groups in the population and that may be accessed for training in specific topic areas for child care staff and providers when some aspect of their child care work relates to the issue (e.g., the Child and Adult Care Food Program); and (3) those major grant and loan sources that permit expenditures for training, namely the Pell Grant Program and the Perkins Loan Program.

DIRECTLY RELATED EARLY CARE AND EDUCATION TRAINING SOURCES

Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG)

As the first comprehensive federal appropriation for child care, this program provides a funding level of $731 million for fiscal year (FY) 1991 to be distributed in the fall and winter upon federal receipt of the required state plan from a designated lead agency. The legislation provides percentage allocations for the distribution of funds, including those that may used for "quality improvements" such as licensing improvements, resource and referral, and training. A minimum of 5 percent of the state's total allocation must be used for quality improvements. The state has the discretion to use up to a maximum of 17 percent of its total allocation for training and other quality improvements if it combines the maximum

15 percent of the direct services portion with the 5 percent of the remainder and the 1 percent of the total allowable for use at the state's discretion.

Though apparently generous, the quality provisions have serious limitations for training. States may elect to spend the minimum on quality enhancement, thereby narrowing the pool of funds available for training. Moreover, since expenditures for training are not required, states may elect not to use any of their quality improvement dollars on training. Clearly, such a strategy will yield great variability among states, with little attention accorded endemic or systemic issues that transcend state lines.

Head Start

During FY 1991, $1.952 billion was appropriated for Head Start services, with 10 percent set aside for quality improvements. More than $50 million was earmarked for training and program technical assistance. Much of the $50 million, however, has already been specifically allocated to mandates such as projects to assist Head Start agencies facilitate the transition of its graduates to public schools and to the development and support of Parent Child Centers. Therefore, the proportion of the training and technical assistance funds that will ultimately be usable for career development training for staff remains unclear.

Child Development Associate (CDA) Scholarship Assistance

The Child Development Associate Scholarship program is designed to provide funding assistance for candidates to receive their CDA credential. During FY 1991, $1.4 million was appropriated for these purposes. It is important to note that though the CDA Scholarship Program has been in existence for several years, funds were rarely consumed. This year, for the first time, states are permitted to use up to 35 percent of their allocation to provide funding for actual training to individuals wishing to earn the CDA credential. The income eligibility guidelines have also been broadened for individuals seeking assistance from the fund, from 125 percent of the lower living standard to 195 percent of the same standard.

It is important to note that since the 35 percent guideline is optional for states, its ultimate impact on training is unclear. It is likely that the primary beneficiaries will be child care providers since they have had little ongoing access to CDA training programs or to funding that might pay for them. It is likely that funds could also be used by community agencies or institutions of higher education to organize CDA training programs, using these funds as long as participating individuals met the income eligibility guidelines.

Family Support Act

Although the legislation has already been discussed above, we turn our attention to the financial implications of FSA that are most germane to training. The overall FSA appropriation for FY 1990 is $369 million, but only a portion of this is available for training under three titles.

Title II: Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS)

This title provides remedial, high school or GED, and job-related training to targeted recipients of AFDC. Funds from this source have been used to provide career-oriented training programs to bring welfare recipients into the child care field as classroom teachers.

Title IV-A: Child Care Licensing-Monitoring Improvement Grants

Although total funding under this title is only $13 million for FY 1991, it is expected to increase to $50 million or more annually during the next three fiscal years. States are required to use not less than 50 percent of their allocation for training child care providers at entry level or as part of continuing training. Funds have been used under this provision to provide training for career upgrades for child care providers.

Title XX: Social Services Block Grant

Under this legislation, $2.8 billion was appropriated for FY 1990. Section 2002(2)(B) provides for the allowable expenditure of Title XX funds for personnel training and retraining "directly related to the provision of services" through grants to institutions or by direct funding to individuals enrolled in higher education institutions. Funds may also be awarded in the form of grants to community organizations providing training activities or programs or to eligible individuals wishing to participate in these efforts. It is also permissible for the state to organize and implement training activities through state agencies.

The primary difficulty with this legislation as a source for funds for child care training is that there is no mandate for states to use the funds in this way. Training, again, is a competing priority with every form of direct service that is eligible to be funded under this grant. An examination of expenditure records submitted by the states to the federal government during the ten-year period subsequent to this Title XX authorization (part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981) reveals that training was not an activity consistently supported by the states. The specific account number identified with training expenditures in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance yielded few entries throughout the fifty states during the past ten years. It is possible, however, though not likely, that training funding was somehow buried in the accounting procedures. In short, it is not clear that the Title XX Block Grant funds generated a significant level of new training dollars in most states.

Dependent Care Planning and Development Block Grant

During FY 1990, $13 million was appropriated for formula grants to the states for the "planning, development, expansion, or improvement" of resource and referral services and school-age child care services. There are differences of opinion among advocates in the child care field about whether the funds may be accessed to provide child care training for staff. One example where funds were used "to develop the capacity to provide technical assistance and training" was cited by the Child Welfare League of America in its publication Funding for Child Care Training: A Federal Yellow Pages (Durbin, Kopp, & Toland, 1990, p. 27).

INDIRECTLY RELATED EARLY CARE AND EDUCATION TRAINING SOURCES

We have grouped these programs according to the federal agency that has oversight responsibility for each.

Department of Health and Human Services

Child Abuse/Neglect Prevention Act

This act provides assistance to national demonstration programs for the purpose of preventing, treating, and responding to child abuse. Funds may be used to provide training on child abuse and neglect to "persons responsible for the welfare of children," thereby including child care staff and providers.

Comprehensive Child Development Centers Act

These funds are provided for demonstration projects intended to promote comprehensive developmental services to young children and their families. Funds may be used to support training within the demonstration sites. As such, these funds are not available for widespread use.

Refugee and Entrant Assistance Programs

This act provides for training in English as well as employment-related training and placement, with a specific mandate to provide equal access to women. These funds have been used in some states to provide entry-level training to individuals wishing to enter the child care field.

Temporary Child Care for Handicapped Children Program

These funds are limited to developing awareness of child abuse/neglect reporting responsibilities.

Department of Education

Workplace Literacy Program

This program provides a resource for literacy skills training, but funds must be sought in partnership with private industry councils (PICs). Training may be offered through higher education institutions, state or local education agencies, or nonprofit community agencies. Grants will cover only 70 percent of the cost of programs and administration.

Education of the Handicapped Act

Institutions of higher education and nonprofit agencies may apply for grants from the U.S. Department of Education to train child care staff to work effectively with children under six with special needs and their parents. Funding levels may vary from year to year according to determination of need by the DOE for trained personnel to provide early childhood education for the handicapped. Total available funds for grants are based on allocations to states.

Adult Education Act

Each state receives an allocation based on the proportion of its adult citizens who do not have high school diplomas in relation to the total number of such adults in the United States. The funds may be used to provide training in basic literacy skills to promote employability. In FY 1990, $157.8 million was appropriated. The funds require a 10 percent state match.

Vocational Education Act

In FY 1990, $889 million was appropriated under the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act to develop, expand, improve, and modernize quality vocational programs in order to meet the needs of the nation's existing and future work forces. According to the act, programs should be directed toward individuals who are disadvantaged or handicapped, men or women entering non-traditional occupations, adults in need of training or retraining, single parents, those with limited English proficiency, and incarcerated adults.

Even Start Program

Funds may be used to provide training for staff who are working with the young children of participants in Even Start projects. As of FY 1992 the federal funds may only be used to cover 60 percent of the total cost of projects.

Department of Agriculture

Child and Adult Care Food Program

Funds may be used to provide training in nutrition to child care providers who participate in the food program. This includes both day care centers and family day care providers. Training is usually provided through food program sponsors. For day care centers this is typically through the state agency that administers the food program funds; for family child care providers it can often be a private nonprofit organization.

Nutrition Education and Training Program

Classroom teachers and family child care providers may participate in training programs on nutritional education, and day care center cooks may learn about nutrition and food service management under the auspices of the state agency responsible for administering the federal Child Nutrition Act funds. Training may be offered directly by the state agency or contracted through higher education institutions or nonprofit community organizations or training agencies.

Department of Labor

Senior Community Service Employment Program

These funds may be used to provide training to low-income people, fifty years old and over, to prepare them for part-time work opportunities in child care. Primary funding allocations are made to eight national nonprofit organizations that specialize in services to older people. States and territories receive the remainder.

Work and Family Demonstration Grants

If funds are made available for FY 1992, grants will be made by the Women's Bureau for demonstration projects that strengthen the child care provider market.

GRANTS AND LOANS

Two sources of funding warrant special consideration because of their commitment to low-income populations: the Pell Grant Program and the Perkins Loan Program. As we turn from the program sources just discussed, we need to point out that unlike the majority of those sources, Pell and Perkins are designed to meet education and training needs. The challenge of Pell and Perkins has little do with policy intent or its permissiveness. Rather, their challenge lies in the structure and implementation of the efforts.

Pell Grant Program

The Pell Grant Program provides portable, voucher-like grant aid to needy students. One of the nation's larger grant efforts, Pell Grants represents a major financial aid opportunity for low-income women to pursue postsecondary education and training. If size were the measure, this program would seem to afford abundant opportunities. Yet the formulae that govern accessibility to low-income students and the policies for calculating grant awards and repayments inhibit the Pell Grant's effectiveness. Named in honor of Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, who championed special educational aid for the disadvantaged, the Pell program was designed as a needs-based entitlement. The formula for Pell Grant eligibility was modeled on the then-existing needs-based entitlement and formulae used to award funds under the federal campus-based programs.

Challenges

How much is enough? During the period 1980-89, appropriations for the Pell Grant program increased from $1.8 billion to $4.5 billion, a hefty increase of 29 percent in constant dollars (Hauptman & Koff, 1991). However, this increase must be regarded in the context of rising tuition and education costs. During the same period, tuition costs in postsecondary institutions rose more than 75% (Nettles, 1991), leaving a decrease in the real value of Pell grants. Reflecting this impact on individual families, Carter (1988) notes that after four years of college, the debt burdens on needy students may actually be larger than annual family incomes. From the policy perspective, this was part of a shift in thinking that prioritized loans over grants. Despite research that showed the heightened value of grants over loans (McPherson, 1988), the practice of imposing funding ceilings was used, effectively removing the program from the status of an entitlement program.

How equitable is the distribution of Pell dollars? An analysis of the award history of the Pell Grant program indicates that although 64 percent of Pell Grant recipients are women, they receive an average award of $880 (in real dollars in FY 1986), compared with an average award of $913 for male recipients. Prior to 1980, 25.5 percent of low-income women participated in the Pell Grant program compared with 22.8 percent of males. From FY 1980 to 1983, the decrease in participation in the Pell program by low-income women was almost double that of the decrease for males--13.3 percent versus 8.5 percent (U.S. Department of Education, 1983).

Who is, and who should be, eligible? Other strategies were also used to curtail Pell, including a redistribution of access by lower-income students. For example, prior to 1978, eligibility for Pell was limited to individuals and families with incomes under $15,000. With the passage of the Middle Income Student Assistance Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-566) the income eligibility range was broadened to allow for the possibility that a family with an income as high as $50,000 might qualify for a minimum award of $200. This broadened income range, in combination with several other technical changes, altered the proportion of awards going to lower- and middle-income families (Ford Foundation, 1981). For example between FY 1978 and 1980, the involvement of families with incomes under $4,000 decreased by 13 percent while involvement of families with incomes over $15,000 increased by 100.7 percent (Ford Foundation, 1981).

Despite public outcry and policy efforts to redress the situation, the current program distributes a substantially lower percentage of funding to low-income students than the intended distribution and a higher percentage to higher-income students. There is some evidence that this occurs because higher-income families tend to underreport income and assets, and lower-income families tend to overreport or give inconsistent information, which reduces the award or invalidates the application (Fitzgerald, 1990). There has been concern about the inequity of access, and the National Advisory Committee on Student Financial Aid in its recent report (1990) called for an exemption of very low-income families (under $15,000) from tedious analysis processes and advocated the acceptance of participation in other federal assistance programs such as AFDC, Food Stamps, and Medicaid as a prima facie indication of financial need.

Income, though the most important, is not the only eligibility barrier. Student status definitions were problematic in that until 1986 they required that students be full-time enrollees in a postsecondary program, functionally eliminating many men and particularly women with family responsibilities and/or a need to be employed. With the passage of the Higher Education Amendments of 1986 (Sec. 479A of P.L. 99-498), the requirement was altered to permit eligibility to individuals who enrolled in a program for 50 percent of the time or more. Anecdotal information available from community colleges that have a high proportion of part-time students indicates that this has increased access, within the limits of available funding, to a new group of learners. It should be noted, however, than even a 50 percent participation level would represent a significant barrier for adult women who wish to be part-time students.

What is, and what should be, the relationship between Pell and AFDC? Prior to 1986, the relation of federal student financial aid awards to monies received by women through the AFDC program was subject to state policy. In some states AFDC recipients were effectively barred from pursuing postsecondary education because financial aid awards resulted in a reduced AFDC grant, with the specific amount of the reduction dependent on a variety of factors. These included whether the would-be student was the head of the household or a dependent or independent child of the family, whether the student would utilize on-campus housing or remain in the family home, and the specific federal program source. College work-study funds, for example, were often subtracted dollar for dollar as were grant amounts beyond the amount of tuition and fees if the student lived at home (Moran, 1986; Mudrick, 1980). With the passage of the Higher Education Amendments of 1986, the award of federal student financial aid to any recipient of public assistance cannot be used to reduce the amount of assistance benefits regardless of type (AFDC, Food Stamps, or Medicare). It can, however, be used as part of the determination of eligibility for such assistance (Wolfe, 1991).

Child care support: Luxury or necessity? Pell and other federal grants typically do not provide assistance for preschool child care or for before- and after- school care for elementary school children of low-income mothers who are attempting to attend postsecondary education programs. The federal tax credit for child care can be taken only for work-related child care by a single parent. For a married couple, the student spouse must be a full-time student. Finally, even for those parents receiving AFDC benefits who are able to obtain child care subsidies, payment for child care may be used only to cover class time itself, not time needed for travel to and from the school, for field work experiences, or for study time, even when a library activity is a required part of a student's program (Moran, 1986). Such a lack of child care support inhibits many women from taking advantage of Pell.

Policy Implications and Recommendations

If the fastest growing poverty-stricken group in this country is children in families headed by single mothers (Moynihan, 1986), the challenges cited above warrant immediate attention. First, available funding for Pell Grants should be increased so that the grants become more broadly accessible. Second, they should be made available to individuals, particularly women with children who are or wish to be involved in postsecondary education on a part-time basis. This policy change would reduce some of the de facto barriers that confront women with family responsibilities who wish to pursue educational opportunities. Third, the Pell Grant program, which was originally intended as the anchor source of funding for low-income people, should be even more firmly targeted to lower income people through the redefinition of financial eligibility. The current proposals to simplify the needs analysis process and to acknowledge that anyone who is a recipient of one or more forms or public assistance seems merely to demonstrate the logical application of the intent of the program. Fourth, the federal definition of the employment and training requirements for AFDC recipients should be changed so that state policy makers can encourage and support the participation of AFDC recipients in educational programs of longer duration, leading to significant degrees at either the associate's or bachelor's level.

Finally, critical to the successful implementation of the use of Pell Grants by low-income women is the availability of information about student financial assistance and the sorts of programs to which it is applicable. An increasing trend during the 1980s has been the utilization of Pell grants in one-year proprietary vocational and technical programs that do not always provide up-to-date training and sufficient skill levels for the participant to compete successfully in the labor market. Often low-income individuals become involved in such proprietary training programs because they promise short duration and full financing through federal funds. In recent years the proportion of total annual Pell Grant funds being used at such institutions has reached 20 percent (McPherson, 1988). In short, some of the policy and implementation barriers need to be eliminated if Pell is to be a rich source of support for the training/parenting program.

Perkins Loan Program

The Perkins Loan Program was originally established in 1958 as the National Defense Student Loan Program. It underwent some transformation in 1972 when its name changed to the National Direct Student Loan Program and was packaged with two other programs as campus-based student financial aid. The Perkins program was subject to individual autonomy of financial aid officers at postsecondary educational institutions rather than the rigid needs analysis formula established by Congress for the Pell program. Under the Perkins program, a student had to be enrolled in an education or training program for at least a 50 percent level of involvement to qualify for eligibility. Moreover, a student who qualified for a Perkins loan was eligible to borrow no more than $3,000 during a two-year period and no more than $6,000 during a four-year period regardless of the cost of his or her educational program.

Currently, the program has total assets of $56 million from thirty years of federal capitalization efforts and repayments and serves 3,300 institutions, a significant increase from the over 500 members of its early years. As an off-budget program, the Perkins loan program generates its capital from private financial sources, as well as from participating educational institutions, through the use of loan guarantees and subsidies to lenders established through the original federal legislation. Participating institutions are also expected to provide a one-dollar cash or in-kind match for every nine dollars of federal funding (Hoffman, 1990).

The major issue inhibiting the provision of services to low-income women seems to be the relative lack of availability of the loans owing to decreasing funding levels. Specifically, from its inception to FY 1976, the funding level for the program increased, as did the numbers of loans made to applying students. Following the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, funding levels dropped precipitously from $300 million to $205 million in FY 1989 (in real dollars). In the meantime, the number of loan recipients continued to climb (to 854,000 students in FY 1986); the result was dramatic reduction in average loan amounts.

While support for Perkins has declined, the Guaranteed Student Loan has escalated to become the single largest source of student aid in the nation. For low-income women, this is not ideal because there are three distinct policy advantages of the Perkins program: (1) it has the lowest interest rate of all of the federal loan programs, running in general 2-3 percent below the other programs; (2) it has a loan forgiveness provision, which provides partial forgiveness of both principal and interest for each year in which a graduate is an elementary, secondary, or Head Start teacher, or a volunteer in the Peace Corps or in VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America); and (3) it has a provision for extending the repayment period for graduates whose incomes remain below a certain level, even after the repayment period has been instituted (Moran, 1986).

Policy Recommendations and Implications

Functionally, the program shares structural disadvantages with Pell and other federal assistance programs in that to be eligible, a student must be at least a half-time student, and it provides only four years of assistance. The effect of these provision in all federal programs is that students who have difficulty maintaining a certain level of effort in their educational programs, have academic problems, have difficulty in choosing and pursuing career goals, or have significant life crises are at a disadvantage. Finally, like other federal programs, Perkins provides no specific inclusion of child care as an expense in calculating need or establishing the amount of awards to be given to eligible students.

There are some benefits to Perkins, however. Moran (1986) notes that it is the only program that cancels part of the loans for qualifying teachers and extends provisions for repayment to low-income individuals. As such, it is among the most beneficial loan programs for women.

Clearly, if the federal government is to effectively support access to postsecondary education for low-income women, the funding levels for the Perkins program should be significantly increased or a graduated scale of interest rates should be attached to the Guaranteed Student Loan Program. In addition, the Perkins Loan Program, as well as other programs, must change its handling of child care by recognizing that it is a legitimate need of the increasing number of adult students who are pursuing postsecondary education. Similarly, the emphasis on the minimum 50 percent participation requirement to achieve the threshold of eligibility mitigates the increased involvement of adult learners, and perhaps more specifically, adult low-income women, who must divide their time, energy, and resources among so many competing priorities.

SECTION V

FAMILY EDUCATION AND TRAINING: NEXT STEPS

CHAPTER 20

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE EFFORTS

This review of the literature was conducted to provide historical and empirical information upon which audience, design, and implementation decisions regarding the proposed training/parenting intervention could be based. Culling literature from various disciplines and subject area specialties, this review--though not exhaustive within each discipline--does provide an overview of the critical issues the training/parenting intervention will face. It is striking on two dimensions: first, the similarity of findings across sections, and, second, the complexity of the task at hand.

In terms of the similarity of findings, we were heartened to see that the literatures both on personal development and on the efficacy of training interventions--be they employment and training, vocational education, or welfare interventions--support the proactive role of adults in their own learning, the need for support services (especially for parents with young children) and the need for training to have functional and immediate relevance and rewards. More specifically, the literature concurs on specific training strategies and curricular approaches. Such agreement in principle should facilitate our program design, though we recognize that what we are proposing, while building on past efforts, will engender new challenges owing to its dual commitment to training and parenting.

In terms of complexity, the literature revealed enormous challenges related to program implementation, evaluation, and social utility. On the implementation side, we became aware, on the one hand, of the difficulties in dealing with very low-income individuals, many of whom feel alienated from, and distrustful of, the bureaucracy. On the other hand, we became aware of the tremendous differences in individuals' motivation and capacities for learning that transcend income level. We became aware of the need for sensitivity to cultural and learning style differences across populations and the need to individualize the intervention. We became aware of the various cost differences in implementing such efforts and of the need for--and lack of--well-trained personnel to implement them. On the evaluation side, we became aware of the paucity of information on the long-term efficacy of individual parenting curricula and the abundance of the cost-efficacy data on previous training efforts. We became concerned, however, because most of the evaluations focused on short-term income gains, not on long-term social gains to trainees or on gains to their families or children. In that respect, the proposed work will be fresh. We became aware that the questions undergirding much policy work did not address social utility, but measured individual accomplishment. Few dared to ask Burtless's tough questions regarding the costs of not providing such programs; few questioned whether gains should be measured in terms of their distributive effects on welfare-recipients or society.

In becoming sensitized to the vast array of complex strategies and policy issues generated by the proposed intervention and analysis, we vacillated between momentary pangs of paralysis and empirical exuberance. Moving ahead with this intervention demands both careful analysis and detailed planning. In the material that follows, we review the major implications extracted from the material and their relevance to future program design.

CURRENT THINKING REGARDING THE PROPOSED INTERVENTION

Who Is the Audience?

Our review suggests that we target the training/parenting intervention to low-income mothers who have a high school diploma or its equivalent. By low income, we mean those below the poverty index; this will include welfare recipients and some nonwelfare recipients (the working poor). We also expect that by using this criterion, we will include short- and long-term welfare recipients, enabling us to discern the impact of the intervention across subgroups of the poverty population.

In selecting the high school diploma or its equivalent as a criterion, we are aware that we may eliminate some of those below the poverty line who might benefit most from this intervention. Our rationale for this decision is predicated on the knowledge--from the training literature--that effective training takes a long time, and it takes longer if trainees lack basic educational skills. In addition, the financial constraints of this effort and the limitations of training time that are likely to be imposed contributed to our decision. Also, the evidence that welfare-to-work programs have not in the past been successful in raising people out of poverty, combined with the low wages often associated with the child care profession, indicates a need to somehow increase the likelihood of trainees reaching self-sufficiency; we hope that the proposed educational requirement will have such an effect. This does not mean that our intervention will not include basic skills training; it will for those who need it, but the existence of the high school diploma or its equivalent will mitigate the need for extensive emphasis in this area. Another important rationale for using this as a criterion is that the field of early care and education regards this as an entry standard for its basic competency credential, the Child Development Associate. To keep in step with the child care field's emerging qualifications standards, we feel that requiring a high school diploma or its equivalent is appropriate. Finally, as detailed in chapter 1, the average educational level of the field is already significantly higher than the high school criterion we propose.

Though it was clear from the outset that the audience would be mothers, it was not clear how old they or their children would be. Compelling literature on the success of training elderly women for child care, coupled with the lifelong learning potentials discussed in chapter 3, tempted us to impose no age limit on the women involved. However, understanding that parenting expectations and behaviors are established when children are very young counterindicated the wisdom of dealing with older mothers who would, in most cases, have older children. Because we want to focus on the impact of training and parenting interventions, and their synergy, we have decided to focus on women with children under age five--where the parenting effects might be greatest, most durable, and amenable to evaluation. Understanding that older women may have children under age five and realizing the value that maturity can add to discussions, we have set no age restriction for the mothers themselves.

Who Will Be Involved?

These entry restrictions aside, all mothers who wish to participate will be eligible for involvement. We underscore that the choice to enter the program should be the participant's. From our review of programs, we understand the benefits and liabilities of voluntary participation. Our analysis suggests that voluntary involvement with this population is preferable, so long as there are sufficient real-world incentives associated with involvement. Moreover, our investigation indicates that voluntary participation can be greatly enhanced by sustained and effective recruitment efforts. Capitalizing on information garnered from this review, we would expect to launch extensive community-based recruitment efforts to ensure sufficient numbers of volunteers.

What Are the Real-World Incentives?

The analysis of child care worker supply and demand (chapter 17) suggests that there will be employment opportunities for women who are well trained. We expect that our participants will be well trained and that one of our criteria for site selection will be the current or potential existence of employment slots for child care workers. Although encouraged, we are not falsely optimistic. Our review of the literature on career ladders was discouraging (chapter 18). Promising work is being initiated, but the complexity of the task makes rapid accomplishment unlikely. Career ladders are critical to sustaining employees in the field, as are respectable salaries and benefits. We also recognize that this intervention will not ameliorate these problems. We expect to use our knowledge of the field to select sites where the greatest incentives for durable employment exist. Fully understanding that these may be limited, the existence of career ladder and other employment incentives may be used for stratifying the sample.

To date, much of the literature has neglected to mention or evaluate the impact of training on the participants' children and families. Clearly, this is an imbedded component of our design, and we expect that such benefits will be regarded as incentives by those involved.

Finally, child care training is commonly envisioned and evaluated as terminal employment. We suggest that considering it as transitory employment, a means to other careers, may be more of an incentive to low-income women with young children. Too often researchers and designers of employment and training programs have, in effect, discarded the value of child care by not recognizing it as a stepping-stone or prelude to other careers. Seeing child care as interim employment, with residual benefits for children while they are young, may be an acceptable conceptualization for low-income populations, as it has been for middle- and upper-income populations for decades. We envision that many program participants, after working in child care, may elect to move to other positions in related fields--where career ladders and advancement opportunities may be more prevalent. Building upon opportunities provided by the training/parenting program, participants should be equipped with relevant experience and solid training. In sum, our analysis suggests that there are multiple incentives for child care employment that have been undervalued and understudied--effects on children and families and effects as interim employment. We hope to investigate these in our analysis.

What Principles Should Undergird the Intervention?

The literature, detailed in sections II (chapters 7-10) and III (chapters 11-16), is replete with important lessons regarding the general principles and values that should frame the optimal training/parenting intervention. We recognize, and experience has surely shown, that understanding these principles does not guarantee their implementation. Nonetheless, because they do shape the quality of the intervention, we detail those that appear to be most critical.

1. The intervention must be individualized to meet the varying needs of adults as learners and as members of families and society. The quest for individualization that has hallmarked early childhood, elementary, and secondary education for decades is even more necessary with adult learners. Given adults' more extensive repertoires of experiences, their diversity, and the range of values and attitudes they bring to the learning situation, their interventions must be more flexible and more carefully tailored to be successful.

2. The intervention must foster independence. Though the goal for all is learning, independence and autonomy are particularly crucial for adult learning. Allowing participants voice and choice is essential to success, as is the establishment of training modalities that

blend such freedom with accountability. The use of competency-based strategies and contracts has been particularly successful in fostering these goals.

3. The intervention must be comprehensive. To expect that adult learners will meet with success only if job-related skills and knowledge are imparted is a mistake clearly and repeatedly reflected in the literature. The intervention must meet the needs of the whole adult--the adult's social, emotional, physical, and training needs. While true for all adults, this is particularly true for young mothers (chapter 4) who are more vulnerable because they are experiencing multiple role changes simultaneously.

4. The intervention must respect diverse languages, cultures, and learning styles. Chapters 3 and 5 clearly indicate that if interventions with adults are to be successful, the contextual heritage of the adult must be understood, valued, and nourished within the intervention. Foreign-born and non-English-dominant women have not always thrived in training programs, and they will not unless the program recognizes their strengths and needs. Because early care and education values diversity and because many of the children in subsidized programs are from different cultures, the training/parenting intervention will pay special heed to these issues.

5. The intervention and its staff must exude a can-do spirit. Modest expectations solidified by modestly supportive staff do little to yield effective interventions. The literature makes clear that the need to have high expectations for trainees and the willingness to lend subtle supports are staff characteristics vital to program success. A corollary is the need to invest time and dollars on staff preparation and training. Given that this intervention proposes to focus on parenting and training simultaneously, and given the sensitivity of the issues regarding these diverse roles (chapter 13), preintervention staff training will be essential.

What Properties Charactize Effective Curriculum And Implementation Strategies?

Because they need to maintain adult autonomy and independence, the strategies that work best are self-directed and allow trainees freedom of choice. In addition to competency-based and contract modalities mentioned above, the curriculum should address real-world problems and have immediate relevance for the learner. That is not to suggest that theory should be avoided, but rather that when theory is presented its relevance and application should be stressed.

Such approaches often demand skills that are not taught in conventional teacher preparation courses, and this fact reinforces the need for teacher retraining. Understanding how to work with adults' multiple needs, how to create supportive environments, and how to establish and sustain nonhierarchical relationships are critical skills that will be incorporated into a teacher training program to accompany the intervention.

Our analysis suggests that such training, though ideally short to minimize costs, does take time. Fiascos reported in the literature often attribute their failures to too short a duration or too modest an intervention. Learning from these mistakes, newer interventions seem to be longer in duration. We tentatively propose a one-year intervention of daily intensity.

What Support Services Are Integral to the Success of the Intervention?

Given the expected diversity of participants in the training/parenting program, it is anticipated that upon entry individualized assessments will be conducted. These will yield information that will lead to the development of individualized support plans for parents. To be maximally effective, the intervention should include the provision of or access to counseling services--either personal or career. On the personal side, psychosocial skills and self-esteem supports need to be built into the program. On the career side, job search, job counseling postplacement, and ongoing career supports need to be incorporated as well. In addition, trainees must be either provided with or assisted in obtaining the basic services that permit program participation, such as child care, transportation, and health care. Given the nature of this intervention, special attention must be focused on helping mothers cope with the dual demands of career and family generally and the dual demands of parenting and teaching specifically. Such supports must be regarded as integral, not ancillary, to the program.

* * *

In assessing the viability of training low-income women for employment in child care and simultaneously helping them to improve their parenting skills, this report draws on information from a wide range of related fields, including adult and adolescent development and learning, child care and general employment training, parenting, and the child care delivery system. Not intended as an exhaustive examination of each domain, the review focuses instead on sampling the most relevant information from a comprehensive array of knowledge sources, ranging from theoretical study to practical experience. In conducting this review, probably the most striking finding is the solid thematic continuity across the domains. Despite the variety of perspectives considered, numerous threads have been found to run through our discussion and, having been revealed, may now serve as the raw material for not just our own project, but others to come.

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